



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

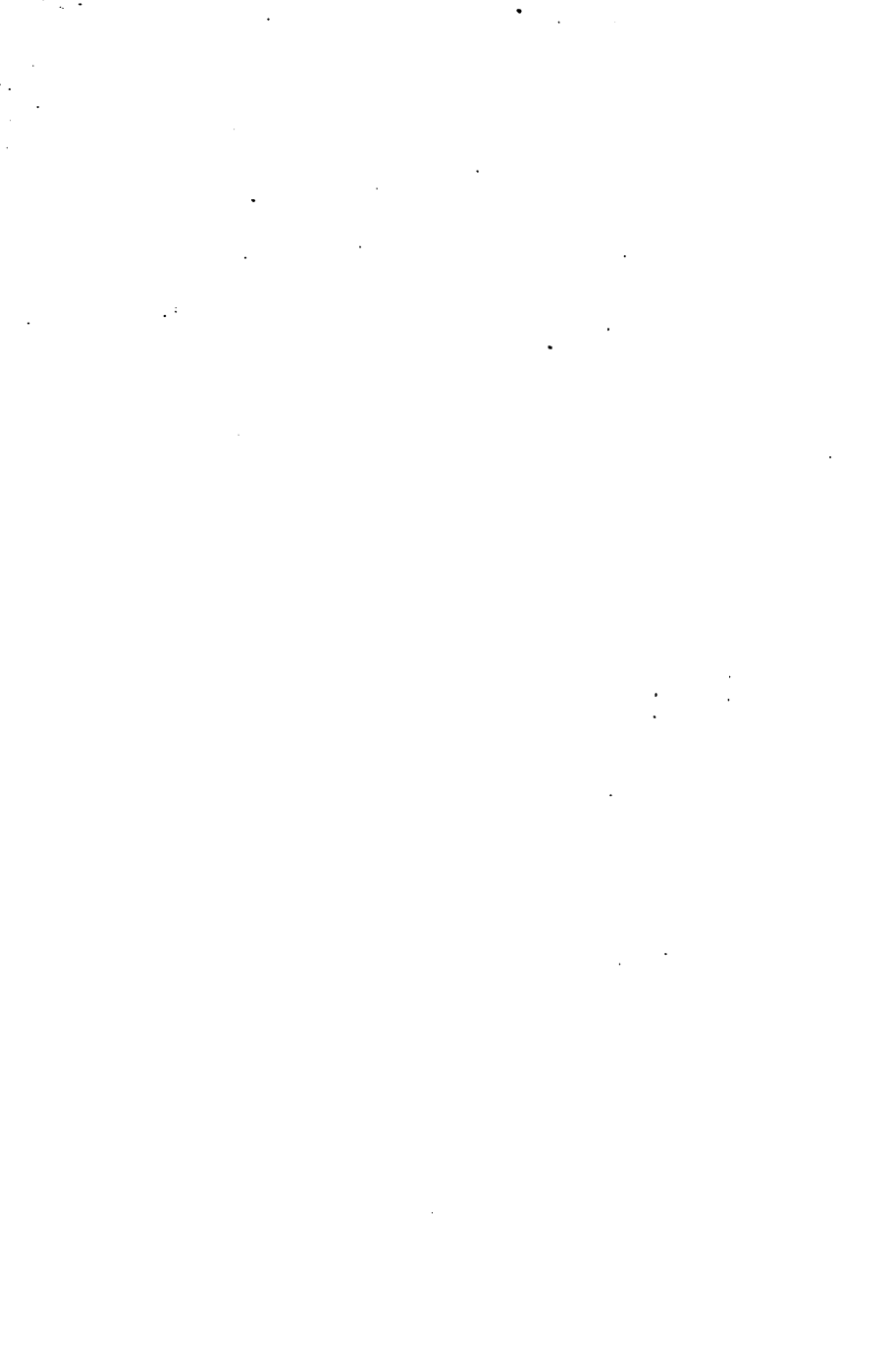
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

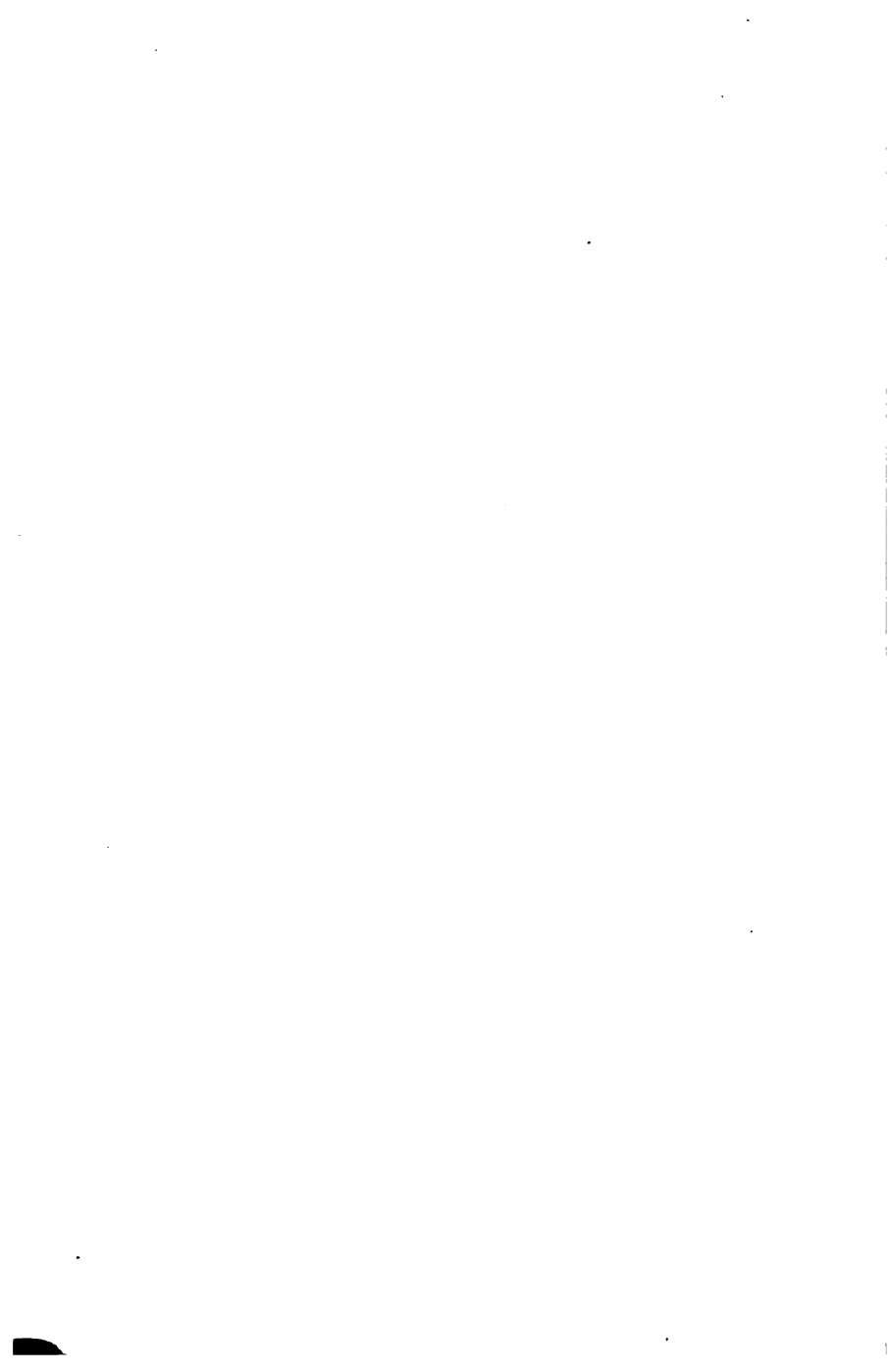
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>









THE RELATION
OF
THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS
TO
THE JEWS
IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES

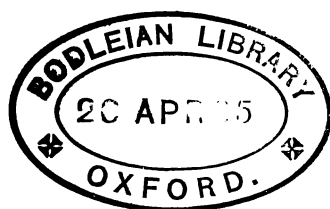
BY THE
REV. F. H. REICHARDT, B.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE

LONDON
SEELEY & CO., 46, 47 & 48, ESSEX STREET, STRAND
(LATE OF 54 FLEET STREET)

1884

95. e. 3.



TO MY DEAR FATHER,
WHOSE LABOURS AMONG THE JEWS
ARE NOT UNKNOWN,
THIS WORK
IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.



PREFACE.

THE inestimable importance of the subject discussed in this Essay needs no demonstration, if Christianity is to hold its own, not merely as a philosophy, but as a Creed. A revival of Hebrew learning has set in in our Universities, and with it must come a closer inquiry into the Jewish and Theocratic elements of the Christian Faith. As a contribution of some results attained in this field of labour, this Essay is offered alike to my fellow-students, and to any others who may be interested in the questions raised. It was written four years ago at Cambridge, as a Hulsean Dissertation. It was mentioned with approval, but failed to gain the prize. Mr. Sorley's Prize Essay has

been published by Deighton. The two are, however, distinct, and hardly touch common ground. I think it will enhance the interest of this work if I make public the fact that at the last moment, before going to press, Dr. Schiller-Sziinessy most kindly volunteered to verify my Hebrew quotations. He took exception, as I have shewn, to my translation of one or two of the passages, but did not challenge the references themselves.

CONTENTS.

FIRST CHAPTER, A.D. 1—33.

THE RELATION OF OUR LORD HIMSELF TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

	PAGE
Section 1. — Jesus was a Member of the Jewish National Church	1
Section 2. — But did not identify Himself with any Sect	10
Section 3. — A section of the Jews were prepared to welcome a Divine and Suffering Messiah . . .	24

SECOND CHAPTER, A.D. 33—70.

APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

Section 1. — Historical	40
Section 2. — Doctrinal	54
Section 3. — Liturgical	77

THIRD CHAPTER, A.D. 70—200.

SUB-APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

Essene Ebionism and Ebionism Proper—The Jews at Jamnia—Bar Cochba—Recapitulation	89
Original Sources with an Index	107
Works with Memorandum of Errata	111

Ecco apparir Gerusalemme si vede,
Ecco additar Gerusalemme si scorge,
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gerusalemme salutar si sente.

Tasso, *Gerus. Lib.*, c. iii. st. 3.

Patrem nostrum esse populum Judæorum, saepe legimus.

Hieron. ad Amos, ii. 7.

On a king who is only a man בֶּשֶׂר וְדָם, God places not
His crown, but on King Messiah He hath placed it.*

Midrash Tanchuma, pericope וְאֵין

And of Zion it shall be reported that he was born in her.

Ps. lxxxvii. 5.

* Dr. Schiller-Szinessy permits me to give his reading of this Midrash :—

“An earthly king gives his crown to no one; but God places “his crown on King Messiah.” This may well be what the Tanchuma means to say, and is full of interest. But the Hebrew words, apart from the context, will bear my rendering, and as I argue nothing out of the words but use them merely to point the moral of my Essay, I have ventured to retain them.

THE RELATION OF THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS TO THE JEWS

CHAPTER I. A.D. 1—33.

THE RELATION OF OUR LORD HIMSELF TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

JUDAISM, as distinct from Hellenism, or Heathenism, is the proper parent of Christianity. Not only was our Lord a Jew, but he spent his entire life among his own people. Made under the Law, he was sent to the lost sheep of the House of Israel; once only, for a brief space, we meet him wandering outside Jewish territory "in the borders of Tyre and Sidon." But he identified himself with none of the sects, into which the Jewish people were at that time divided. He publicly rebuked the Pharisees for rejecting the commandment of God, that they might keep their own tradition (Mark vii. 9); the Sadducees, for not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God (Mark xii. 24); while from the Essenes he was separated by this one practice, if by none other (Jos. Wars, ii. 8. 9), in that he habitually selected the Sabbath-day for his most prominent works of mercy and healing. This *via media*, so to speak, in our Lord's career requires to be emphasized, if we desire to trace

faithfully to its fountain-head the Christian stream of living water that has come down to our times.

FIRST SECTION.

Let us, in the first place, examine more minutely the first of these two points. We affirm, first, that our Blessed Lord was, from his earliest years, a staunch member of the Jewish National Church. Of undoubted Jewish parentage, we find that he is circumcised on the eighth day. At the age of twelve, when the thoughts of every young Jew are vividly turned to the time when he shall first don his *toga virilis*, become subject to the Law, בר מצוה, and enter the congregation of Israel, Jesus accompanies his parents to the Temple at Jerusalem, and there takes up his proper work for life, his "Father's business." We find that he is not only subject to his parents, but that he increases in favour with God and man; and that when his mother and brethren go to Cana of Galilee, he also is "called to the marriage." At the national festivals in Jerusalem we meet him time after time, and a glance suffices on each and every one of these occasions to assure us that he has not come there to be a silent spectator of the busy scene around him, but to be active as others are active in the duties of worship and communion that have brought them together. Nor do we find that he loves to countenance only such Jewish rites and ceremonies as can distinctly trace their pedigree to a Divine appointment, but he yields to ecclesiastical sanction and custom the homage

due to them from time immemorial: "not rudely to "be rejected because invented by men" (Hooker, bk. v. c. lxxv. 2). And thus it comes to pass, that though the Feast of Dedication—also called Φῶτα, or Lights—was instituted by Judas Maccabæus, and could, like that of Purim, and unlike that of the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Tabernacles, be kept at home, yet we find our Lord making a long journey from Capernaum in the middle of winter to keep it at Jerusalem (John x. 22). Again, he adopts without any difficulty or dissidence the various new customs that had arisen in the keeping of the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles. At his last Passover, before his crucifixion, his manner of sitting at the table, his beginning the meal with a cup of wine, his ending it with a cup of blessing, his using bread and wine, his concluding with a psalm, were Jewish habits, and are in vogue among the Jews at the present day. The Judaizers of Corinth, indeed, appear to have viewed the Lord's Supper in the light of an ordinary celebration of the Passover, "not regarding the Lord's body." Again, at the Feast of Tabernacles a silver pitcher was filled every day at the fountain of Siloam, and the water was poured on the altar. The daily drink-offering was wine; at this time only water was added to the wine. The origin of the rite is hidden in obscurity, but the Jews understood it to signify the pouring out of the Holy Ghost. After this ceremony the Jews assembled by torchlight in one of the courts of the Temple for the purposes of revelry; and to this carnival, as in the corresponding Saturnalia of the Romans, the elders of

the people did not disdain to come. Not only does our Lord not pronounce any censure on any part of this strange proceeding, but to the pouring forth of the water, which we know the Sadducees condemned as an innovation, he points as being indeed a symbol of the Holy Ghost (John vii. 39; Targ. Isa. xii. 3).

For, as he tells us himself, he came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and not to destroy them (Matt. v. 17). Now the universal and strict observance of the Mosaic Law was regarded by the Jews as a necessary characteristic of the times of the Messiah (Isa. lii. 1; lxvi. 17—20; Zech. viii. 21—23; xiv. 16). The Targum on Isa. ix. 6, renders the words “and the government shall be on his shoulders” “he will take the Law on himself to fulfil it” וקבל אוריינתא עלוי למטרה. Philo (De Vita Mosis, bk. ii. c. 3,) maintains that not only the Law, but the Temple and Temple Service are designed to be perpetual, ἕως ἀν ἡλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος ᾗ. The “New Covenant” (Jer. xxxi. 31) is, according to Kimchi, a readjusting of the stability, קיום, of the old. In two ways our Lord shewed his loyalty to this principle. First, by doing all he could to substantiate his claim to a Divine power, delegated and inherent, to purge the Jewish polity of such elements as were worthless and injurious, in order that he might give a new significance and authority to what he retained; and, secondly, by his wise moderation in dealing with established usages. For we must remember that the time of our Lord’s appearing was one of intense restlessness and general ferment. The austere

sect of the Pharisees did not influence anything like the whole social atmosphere. Among others, the followers of Judas of Gamala, the spiritual ancestors, as Milman calls them, of the Sicarii, had raised the standard of freedom; and it is not improbable that our Lord himself was in danger of becoming, like David his prototype, a rallying point for political malcontents. He warns all such that his mission is a spiritual one, and that "Holiness to the Lord" was equally to be the motto of the new as of the old régime: "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 20). Duty and obedience to law, he asserted, to the end of time must remain the abiding landmarks of the New as of the Old Economy. The distinctive ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, being of God's enactment, must receive an honourable burial, and truth must be content to germinate slowly to perfection, like the unconscious opening of a bud fanned by the zephyrs of the morning. The rich young man who comes to Jesus to know the way to eternal life, is asked whether he has satisfied the claims of the Law, and is then told to sell what he has and to follow Jesus (Matt. xix. 21). The Leper whom Jesus has healed is sent to shew himself to the priest, and give his offering according to the law of Moses, though Jesus knew that he was healed and standing in no need of further inspection (Mark. i. 44; Luke xvii. 14: comp. Tert. c. Marcion, bk. iv. 35). The half-shekel toward the Temple Services is paid, notwithstanding the high

and reasonable ground on which our Blessed Lord justified his exemption (Matt. xvii. 27). *

We have another instance in the Lord's Prayer of our Blessed Lord's adherence to Jewish formulæ in his ritual and devotions. In the opening appellation, "Our Father, which art in heaven," he markedly placed himself and his disciples side by side with the Jews, to whom alone God was a covenant Father, and among whom such a mode of addressing the Deity was at once customary and appropriate. Salvation, our Lord elsewhere declares, is of the Jews—a sacred deposit, of which, indeed, they had shewn themselves unworthy, but a share in which, nevertheless, could only be obtained by a connexion with them, and as springing from them. More remarkable still is the injunction, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Did this passage occur in any other Gospel than that of St. Matthew, our Gentile prejudices might perhaps succeed in persuading us to read this—"The Scribes and Pharisees have *usurped* Moses' seat," but the Gospel of St. Matthew is too genuinely Jewish to admit of such a meaning.

Though the Talmudists, as did some of his contemporaries, accuse our Lord of sorcery, they never

* We may remark, in passing, that Akenside uses the two names Truth and Order interchangeably: "Where Truth deigns to come, Her sister, Liberty, will not be far." ("Pl. of Im.," bk. iv. 20; first edition, 1744).

"Where Order deigns to come, Her sister, Liberty, will not be far" (bk. 7. iv. 38; enlarged edition, 1772).

impugn his fidelity to the Temple Service or to the Law of Moses. They acknowledge that he was of royal Davidic descent, ישו דקרוי למלכות דוד, and also that he held the position of a Rabbi, since they make mention of some of his disciples. As the passage is carefully omitted in all the modern editions of the Talmud, and is a curious example of the way in which the Holy Scriptures are applied by the Rabbis, I subjoin it. (Bab. Sanh., fol. 43, 1, Ven. Crac. 1. Ams. and all MSS.) "The Rabbis have handed down that Jesus had five disciples, who were called "Matthew, מתיאי; Nikaeus, נקאי; Nezer, נצר; Boni, בוני (elsewhere identified with Nicodemus); and "Thoda, תודא. They brought Matthew to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. He said to them, Shall Matthew be destroyed? It is written, When (מתי Mathai) shall I appear before God? Ps. xlii. 2. They said to him, Verily Matthew shall be destroyed. It is written, When (מתי) shall he die and his name perish? Ps. xli. 5. They brought Nikaeus. He said to them, Shall Nikaeus be destroyed? It is written, The innocent (נקי Naki) slay thou not, Ex. xxiii. 7. They said to him, Verily Nikaeus shall be destroyed. It is written, In the secret places does he murder the innocent, נקי, Ps. x. 8. They brought Nezer. He said to them, Shall Nezer be destroyed? It is written, A branch, (נצר Nezer) shall grow out of his root, Isa. xi. 1. They said to him, Verily Nezer shall be destroyed. It is written, Thou art cast out of thy grave as an abominable branch, נצר, Isa. xiv. 19. They brought Boni. He said to them, Shall Boni be destroyed?

"It is written, Israel is my son (בְּנִי Beni), even my first-born, Ex. iv. 22. They said to him, Verily Boni shall be destroyed. It is written, I will slay thy son (בְּנִיךָ, Bincha), even thy firstborn, Ex. iv. 23. They brought Thoda. He said to them, Shall Thoda be destroyed? It is written, A psalm to Thoda (מְזִמֹּר לְתוֹדָה א.ו. A psalm of praise, Ps. c., superscription). They said to him, Verily Thoda shall be destroyed. It is written, Whoso killeth Thoda, glorifieth me, הוֹדָה יְכַבְּדֵנִי (א.ו. Whoso offereth praise, glorifieth me, Ps. l. 23)."

The disciples were indeed warned by Jesus to expect expulsion from the Synagogues, but it was as a contingency that might at any time arise, and whether it did or did not, would not in the least affect the validity of their commission. That our Lord himself was ever excommunicated is more than doubtful. No hint to this effect is given in the Gospels. Even his last trial was illegal, and the crisis which issued in his crucifixion is represented by St. John as a political one (John xi. 48). Some account is indeed given of certain tumultuary onsets that appear to have taken place. At Nazareth, becoming enraged at his reproaches, the mob sought to cast him headlong, but he passing through the midst of them went his way (Luke iv. 30). In the Temple, because he had said, "Before Abraham was, I am," the Jews took up stones to stone him, but Jesus "going through the midst of them, passed by" (John viii. 59). Characterized by a similar ruthless violence and absence of judicial proceedings, is the case of

the man born blind, whom they "cast out." On the contrary, when the Pharisees sent legal officers to take him, no man ventured to lay hands on him (John vii. 44); and on the fatal night itself, when he surrendered himself to his enemies, he alleged full communion with the Jewish Church, "I was daily with you in the Temple." The story therefore contained in the Talmud (Bab. Sanh., fol. 107, 2; Sota, fol. 47, 1), that he was excommunicated with four hundred trumpets, which would have excluded all hope of a return, must be rejected as a fable. The whole context is indeed fraught with so foul a calumny as to refute itself; and the conclusion we had already reached is confirmed, that the teaching of our Lord, though destined eventually to become a stepping-stone to the overthrow of Judaism, contained much in its incipient stages not alien to the ancient Theocracy; and though doubtless there are passages (see Matt. x. 34, Luke xii. 51) that appear to be full of an ostentatious declaration of open warfare with the prevailing religion, and seem to reduce to a vain symbol the prophetic imagery of Isaiah (Isa. ii. 4, comp. Isa. ix. 9), "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks;" yet, if it be remembered that these passages are a description of the fortunes of the Church throughout the long span of her existence, their immediate applicability to the Jews will be lessened.

One point remains to be noticed under this heading. Already in the time of Tertullian, our Lord's works of healing on the Sabbath had been alleged by Marcion as

incontestably proving his favourite thesis of a rupture between the Old and New Covenants. Tertullian met the case by shewing (Tert. cont. Marc. iv. 12) that even in Old Testament times the strict observance of the Sabbath had been relaxed by Divine command; as, for example, Joshua compassed Jericho seven days, one of which must have been a Sabbath. And we may in our turn note with interest, that the Rabbis themselves allow that danger of life and circumcision dispense with the Sabbath.

SECOND SECTION.

Jesus did not identify himself with any sect. We pass on to discuss more fully this second heading of our thesis. Josephus enumerates three sects of the Jews; the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. A caution suggests itself here in the use made of the word sect. Josephus calls them "sects of philosophy." They were therefore "schools of thought," confined to the learned, and not exhaustive in the sense that every Jew necessarily belonged to one or other of them. So Ginsburg, *Essenes*, page 24. It is clear that our Lord was not indebted to the instruction of the public schools for his doctrine (John vii. 15), and though he "commended Divine truth wherever it existed," yet his teaching presents a number of marked and definite divergencies from the known types of Jewish sectarianism. To the comparatively easy task of shewing this I will now address myself.

The Pharisees. The birth of Pharisaism is obscure. In the time of Alex. Jannaeus they had already become

an influential sect (Jos. Antiq., xiii. 15, 5) and it required a powerful monarch like Herod to restrain them within bounds (Jos. Antiq., xvii. 2, 4). A better character is given them by Josephus, who was a Pharisee, than the one we are so familiar with in the New Testament. "They are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately" (Jos. Wars, i. 5, 2). It was left for our Lord to expose their duplicity and self-seeking;

"Neither man nor angel can discern

"Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks

"Invisible, except to God alone" (P. L. bk. iii.);

and his verdict was ratified by later authorities. To the inquiry, For what sins was the second Temple destroyed? the answer is (Bab. Joma, fol. 9. 2), for *secret* iniquity. The only conception they could form of sin was of something essentially external. Punctilious in all outward observances, they ostentatiously assumed such names as served best to blazon forth their impudent self-complacency (Bab. Sotah, c. iii., par 11). Some styled themselves "Shechemite Pharisees," פרוש שכמי, because, says the gloss, "As the Shechemites submitted to circumcision, not for the love of God, but for love of the beauty of Dinah" (Genesis xxxiv.), so do these Pharisees consult in their actions their vanity, that they may be honoured by men, not caring for the praise of God."

שמל שלא לשם שמים אף זה מעשיו להנאתו
שיכבדוהו בני אדם ולא לשמים.

Others flaunted the motto, "Let me know my duty, and I will do it" פרוש מה חובתי ואעשה, on which Aruch needlessly remarks, "As though they should say 'there is no man that can shew us wherein we have transgressed.'"

On Rabbinical learning and the traditional exegesis of the Holy Scripture they set great store, as the following extracts from the Talmud, quoted also by Dr. McCaul in his "Old Paths," will shew. "Rabbi Eleazar says, It is lawful to split open the nostrils of an unlearned man on the Day of Atonement which falls on the Sabbath. His disciples said to him, Rabbi, say rather that it is lawful to slaughter him. He replied, That would require a benediction, but here no benediction is needful. . . . An unlearned man is forbidden to eat the flesh of a beast or of the fowl, for it is said, This is the law of the beast and of the fowl (Lev. xi. 46). Every one that laboureth in the Law, it is lawful for him to eat the flesh of the beast and the fowl. But for him that does not labour in the Law, it is forbidden to eat the flesh of the beast and of the fowl" (Pesachim, f. 49, 2). There is evidence, indeed, to shew that the learned formed a distinct Order among the Jews. On coins belonging to Alexander Jannaeus the following superscription is read: יונתן הכהן הגדל וראש חב"ד היהודים. If the meaning of חב"ד elsewhere be taken as an index (Bab. Bava Bathra, 75, 1.), compare the Ar. خبر to have 'knowledge, we may translate this, "Jonathan, the High Priest, and President of the learned among

"the Jews." He was not this in virtue of his office, since "a learned man who is illegitimate goes before" *ממזר ר"ה קודם*, "a High Priest who is unlearned," *לכהן גדול עם הארץ*: but it was an additional dignity, too valuable to be lost sight of. I will now contrast in a few representative cases the ethical teaching of the Talmud with that of our Lord.

It is the statement of the Tract Sanhedrin, and ingrained in every Jew, that all Israel has a share in the world to come, *כל ישראל יש להם חלק לעולם הבא*; our Lord says, "Not every one that saith unto me, 'Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven'" (Matt. vii. 21); opening the way to that further utterance of the Apostle, "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him" (Acts x. 34).

Again, "If a Gentile or idolater be seen perishing or drowning in a river, he is not to be helped out. If he be seen near to death, he is not to be delivered" (Hilcoth Accum., c. x. i., from Avodah Sara, fol. 26; compare Tac. Hist., v. 5; and Juvenal Sat., xiv. 103.*)

Our Lord says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Luke x. 27); and to the question, "Who

* "*Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios, hostile odium, separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, projectissima ad libidinem gens; alienarum concubitu abstinenter transgressi in morem eorum, idem usurpant (circumcisionem*

"is my neighbour?" the picturesque parable of the Good Samaritan is a different answer to the one above.

Again, "And thus Moses our Master has commanded us by Divine tradition to compel all that come into the world to take upon themselves the commandments imposed upon the sons of Noah, and whosoever will not receive them is to be put to death" (Hilchoth Melachim, c. viii. 10; comp. Kthuvoth, fol. 11). In the parable of the tares, our Lord expressly forbids the removal of moral error by physical force; and his commission runs, "Go ye therefore, and *make disciples* of all nations."

On the other hand, there are some remarkable coincidences, "Sie lebten seit der Blüthe des Rabbinismus im Volke" (Jost, Geschichte des Jud., vol. i., p. 412, n. 4). The importance of these, however, may easily be exaggerated, to the detriment of any accurate appreciation of the work of Jesus. There is no doubt that every moral system must stand or fall as a whole. Amid its sparsely scattered grains of gold, the Talmud contains some of the greatest rubbish to be met with any where. And it is just here, viz, in the extrusion of this superfluous and injurious matter, that Chris-

"genitalium) nec quidquam prius imbuuntur, quam contemnere deos,
"exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres vilia habere."

"Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
"Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos."

A certain Apollonius accused the Jews of being misanthropes (Jos. Apion, ii. 14; comp. 1 Thess. ii. 15, "contrary to all men").

tianity as an ethical system has gained so vastly and been enthroned far above Rabbinism. Our Lord's primary office, indeed, was not to formulate a system of ethics, but to make atonement for the sins of the world. So far as he touched on morals, it was quite natural that he should have kept close to lines that had already been laid down, to the "old paths," which the successive accretions of a spurious exegesis had failed entirely to obliterate,—only, as Jost acknowledges, what they placed in the background of the picture, he brings out into bold relief; "der Unterschied besteht nur darin, dass das Christenthum auf sie das stärkste Gewicht legte, während die Rabbiner stets auf Durchforschung und Uebung des Gesetzes hinwiesen;" by declaring the weightier matters of the Law to be not its ceremonial precepts, but judgment, mercy and faith (Matt. xxiii. 23; comp. Mic. vi. 8). If it were possible that any apprehension could exist that through such teaching "den Baum des Judenthums stark erschüttern würde," so much the worse for the then condition of Judaism.

The Sadducees.—According to Jewish tradition, some in the days of Ezra denied the resurrection, on whose account the response to the prayers in the Temple, for ever, עַד עוֹלָם, was changed into—for ever and ever: מִן הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם (Bab. Berach., fol. 54). Sadduceeism proper, as they say, dates from Zadoch, the pupil of Antigonus of Socho. Antigonus, in order to afford the doctrine of obedience to the Law a certain "point d'appui" derived purely from the spiritual fitness of things, had adopted the motto, "Be not

"as servants who wait on their Master for the sake of the reward; but be ye like servants who wait on their Master not for the sake of the reward; "but let the fear of the Lord rule you," which his disciples unwarrantably construed into a denial of any hereafter (Avoth, c. 1).

That the moral vitality of Sadduceeism was as feeble as that of Pharisaism, is shewn by the fact that John the Baptist includes the votaries of both in the same category *γεννήματα ἐχθρῶν* (Matt. iii. 7). Affected by the wealthy classes (Jos. Antiq., xiii. 10, 6), Sadduceeism was regarded with the most perfect odium by the Jewish populace (Jos. Antiq., xviii. 1, 4); we read of a Sadducee being "stoned," or rather "appled" or "citroned," *באתרוגיון*, to death in the Temple because of his Creed (Succah, f. 48, 2). Wedded thus to the privacy of their palaces, we easily account for the absence of the Sadducees from the places of public resort which our Lord principally frequented. Once indeed he comes into collision with them, and though we are left in no doubt as to the direct issue, a side question of some interest is opened up. Why did our Lord answer the Sadducees out of the Pentateuch, when he could so much more easily have settled the question by citing the other canonical books? It has been said that the Sadducees held a defective Canon (Tert. Praes. H. 45, Orig. c. Celsum i. 11, 1; Jerome ad Matt. xxii. 31); but Josephus seems to describe the Canon as of universal validity (c. Apion i. 8), and to this "written word," *νομίσματα γεγραμμένα*, is opposed the tradition of the Fathers,

παράδοσις πατέρων, to which the Sadducees most assuredly took exception (Jos. Antiq., xiii. 10, 6). In the Talmudic disputations between the Pharisees and Sadducees, neither the Prophets nor the Hagiographa are ever called in question; and on one occasion a Sadducee even supports his argument by an appeal to Amos iv. 13 (Cholin, 87, A). Our Lord's procedure is intelligible on its own merits. The Pentateuch stood as a Revelation by itself. The doctrine of a Resurrection affected so intimately the fortunes of the human race, that its omission in such a record could only be tantamount to a negation of its truth. As it was apparently not contained in so many words, it must, if true, be found to underlie the whole framework of events. So the Pharisees even base their proofs of the resurrection primarily on the Pentateuch: "And though one should teach and believe that the dead will rise, but that there is no intimation in the Law, he is a heretic even in fundamentals." ואפילו יהא מודה ומאמין שיחיו חמתיב אלא ולא רמיזה באורייתא כופר הוא הואיל ועוקר. (Rashi on Sanh., f. 90). The last expression is a strong one: comp. Arach, fol. 15, 2, כפרי דכפריין בעקרא בפ"ר ב' ע"ק: Buxtorf renders בעקרא in the Targum "qui abnegant Deum."

Essenes.—Quite a formidable array of resemblances has been gathered by Ginsburg (p. 23) between Christianity and Essenism, to support his view that "our Lord belonged to this holy brotherhood." But (p. 25) "whilst Christ propounded some of the everlasting truths which were to be found less adulterated and practised more conscientiously among the Essenes

“than among the rest of the people, he repudiated their
“extremes. They were ascetics; he ate and drank the
“good things of God.” They considered themselves
“defiled by contact with any one who practised a
“lower degree of holiness than their own; Christ
“associated with publicans and sinners, to teach them
“the way to heaven. They sacrificed the lusts of the
“flesh to gain spiritual happiness for themselves;
“Christ sacrificed himself for the salvation of others.”

To this list of divergencies we will add some others which Dr. Ginsburg has omitted to mention, but which have been insisted on by the Bishop of Durham to the detriment of Dr. Ginsburg’s advocacy. 1. The whole structure of the Christian faith is based on the bodily resurrection of Christ (1 Cor. xv. 17); the Essenes firmly believe that the bodies perish, but that the souls are immortal (Jos. Wars, ii. 8, 11). 2. The Christian idea of holiness is active effort against evil (John xvii. 15), and not a monastic seclusion from the world, as was practised by the Essenes. 3. The solidarity of the nation and of the race is at the root of the Messianic idea, and its development in Christianity; “the deliverance of the individual in the shipwreck of the whole,” it has been well said, was the plain watchword of Essenism. 4. In our Lord’s animadversions on the Pharisaic Sabbath and the Pharisaic nicety in matters of ceremonial purity, the Essenes were *a fortiori* condemned. 5. Our Lord has nothing to say against the universal custom of keeping slaves; the Essenes regarded it not only as unjust, but as impious (Philo. Omn. prob., lib. xii.)

The *Gaulonites* are reckoned a fourth sect of the Jews by Josephus (Antiq. xviii. 1, 6). To the tenets of the Pharisees they superadded the distinctive feature of a repudiation of the authority of the Romans. "They have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that "God is their only ruler and Lord." With Judas of Gamala at their head, they broke out into open rebellion during the time that Quirinus was Prefect of Syria and Coponius was Procurator of Judæa, A.D. 10, when a census of Jewish property was being taken, with the object of regulating the taxation of Judæa as a Roman province (Jos. Wars, ii. 8, 1). A former "taxation" (Luke ii. 2) had already registered the population, and now the Jews were to be taxed as Roman subjects, not subjects of a King vassal to Rome (Milman, xii., p. 116). Though kept under for the time being, the fires continued to burn, and the abuses of Gessius Florus caused them to break out anew with increased fury A.D. 65.

Our Lord was certainly no partisan of this sect. "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, "and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. xxii. 21), is at once the basis of authority and the safeguard of freedom.

The *Herodians* were among the most inveterate of our Lord's enemies (Mark iii. 6); they are plainly distinguished from the Sadducees (Matt. xxii. 16), and were probably political adherents of the Herodian family. The "leaven of Herod" (Mark viii. 15) is evidently one with that of the Pharisees, hypocrisy (Luke xii. 1). Herod was a *fox* (Luke xiii. 32), and

acted up to the character when our Lord was sent to him by Pilate, for though "desirous to see him of a long season," he "with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe and sent him again to Pilate" (Luke xxiii. 11). And it is from among the Herodians that men were sent as "spies, which should feign themselves just men" (Luke xx. 20).

This faction, says Milman (xii. 10), may be called the Grecian party; the remark applies to the times of Herod the Great (Jos. Antiq., xv. 8. 1). The traveller may still gaze on the site of the "Stadium" of Cæsarea, with its huge columns of granite imported from Egypt; but it is not likely that our Lord had any controversy with them on this issue (John xii. 22).

So far as the more formal sects of the Jews are concerned, our inquiry is now at a close. I subjoin a brief notice of the Samaritans, the Hellenists, and of those Jews who go by the name of Cairites, קַרְיָיִם as further illustrating our Lord's position among his Jewish contemporaries. My remarks on the important sect of the Minim I reserve for the next chapter.

The *Samaritans*. — Whilst Jost maintains the mixed origin of this people (Jer. xli. 5; comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9 with xxxv. 18), the fact that they did not claim any kinship with the Jews when they demanded to be allowed to join them in building the Second Temple (Ezra iv. 2), is against such an hypothesis. The feud between them seems to have gathered force as time went on. Antiochus Epiphanes allowed the Samaritans to pass muster as Sidonians (Jos. Antiq., xii. 5, 5); and

their Temple was destroyed by Hyrcanus B.C. 106, after it had stood 200 years. In the seventh year after the birth of Christ, under the administration of Coponius, a batch of Samaritans entered the Temple at night during the Passover, and strewed dead men's bones on the floor (Jos. Antiq., xviii. 22); but it was not till the time of Gamaliel of Tiberias that Rabbi Asi, A.D. 300, ordained that the meat of the Samaritans should be held unlawful for Jews to eat (Chullin, 5, b). Lightfoot accordingly is hard pressed to account for the saying of the Evangelist, "The Jews have no dealings "with the Samaritans" (John iv. 9). It may be a later addition to the text.

Our Lord's relations with the Samaritans were friendly enough at the commencement, at any rate, of his missionary career. They received him as the Messiah, and he abode with them two days (John iv. 40). Journeys to Jerusalem he frequently undertook, and the road lay through Samaria. "Thou art a Samaritan" (John viii. 48), may be simply a rhetorical expression, but it may also point to a renewal of advances on his part (comp. Luke x. 33, xvii. 16). Anon, however, the picture changes. Instead of being sought, they must be avoided (Matt. x. 5). Instead of rejoicing in faith, they repulse him openly whom they had formerly welcomed so warmly (Luke ix. 52). Yet even through the veil of that hostile encounter, a hint of former intimacy transpires. For the cry of James and John to bring down fire from heaven is as the bitterness of the psalmist, "For it was not an open "enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it."

How this remarkable change was brought about we cannot even guess, and the fact resolves itself into a striking illustration of the fragmentariness of our Gospels.

The *Hellenists*.—The use of the Septuagint Version has been very generally regarded as the main characteristic of the Hellenistic Jews (Trench Syn. 'Εβραῖος); but we find St. Paul, a "Hebrew of the "Hebrews," cultivating a marked familiarity with the Septuagint, and the quotations of our Lord himself are uniformly drawn from the same source.

The wide range of the Jewish colonies is attested by Strabo (xiv. 2). There were tens of thousands of Jews in Babylon (Jos. Antiq., xv. 3, 1). In Alexandria, they formed two-fifths of the population (Philo in Flacc., p. 973); in the Syrian Antioch, a great portion of the inhabitants were Jews (Jos. Wars, vii. 3, 3); in Rome, they occupied the city beyond the Tiber (Philo de legat. ad Caj., p. 1014). Although the Jewish Rabbis did not favour the Greek learning (Jos. Antiq., xx. 11, 2), and looked askance at the Temple of Onias at Heliopolis—keineswegs gleichgültig, as Jost puts it—they nevertheless made a virtue of the necessity, and admitted that the Law could be accurately rendered into Greek (Hieros. Megill, fol. 71, 3). And though perhaps the Greek element in Jerusalem itself was not large, yet Greek colonies had been planted in Galilee (*Decapolis*) and in Cæsarea, and the Talmud shews that the most Jewish of the Rabbis were to some extent versed in it.

The *Cairites*.—A small section of Jews called Cairites reject the Talmud. But as they avow an implicit belief

in the resurrection of the dead, they cannot be identified with the ancient Sadducees, as the Rabbinitists, and even Buxtorf (Syn. Jud., c. i.) seek to make out. They claim Schammai and Eliezer as their founders, but their first undoubted Rabbi of any eminence was Ananus, in the 8th century. Basnage has a theory to identify them with the Scribes and Doctors of the Law of the Gospels, and he relies for support on the following two passages (Origen ad Luke xi. 44). "The Scribes do not deviate from the letter of the Law, but the Pharisees, who separated from others because they thought themselves much holier, and pretended to interpret it;" and Jerome on Isa. viii. 4, "The Scribes and Pharisees are respectively the disciples of Schammai and Hillel." But the *experimentum crucis* of an application to the sacred records is fatal to this theory. Yet some such party as the Cairites may well have been in existence even then. All who opposed the traditional exegesis of the Pharisees, were not, we may readily believe, in an equal hurry to accept the extreme tenets of the Sadducees. Nor is it strange under the circumstances that Josephus makes no mention of a middle party. In all controversial splits the "Moderates," even if numerous, are always the least conspicuous. It is active aggression that provokes a counter warmth; and if you can only refrain from meddling with others, you may as a rule hold on the even tenor of your way in peace and obscurity.*

* The Rector of Wolsingham, in the county of Durham, was able to retain possession of his benefice during the whole time that

Conclusion. "Thou art not far from the kingdom of "heaven" (Mark xii. 34). The commendation is not entire, nor could it have been. The time was past that any nostrum drawn from its own *pharmacopœia* could regenerate Judaism. The Lord of the vineyard had himself come to redeem his inheritance, and on Him all hopes for the future welfare of Israel were centred. Like unto Lot of old, "like Abdiel, "faithful found, Among the faithless, faithful only he," it was not compromise but escape, that was the plain duty of the devout Jew at this crisis in the national life—

"Lest the wrath

"Impending, raging into sudden flame,

"Distinguish not."

. . . . "His back he turned,

"On those proud towers, to swift destruction doomed."

THIRD SECTION.

A section, at any rate, of the Jewish contemporaries of our Lord expected the Messiah to be a Divine Person, and to suffer.

On our Lord's application of Ps. cx. to himself, the Rev. T. Griffith writes ("Studies on the Divine Master," p. 291), "And herewith Jesus intimates to them a truth, "always enshrined in the depths of his own mind, "frequently coming out in his way of speaking of "himself and his mission, and afterwards expanded by

Cromwell was in office, and on his tomb are engraven the words "pius, prudens et pacificus."

"John in his Gospel,—that in the personality of the "Christ, there lies a mystery such as their teachers of "the people had never yet divined." In other words, the *σὰφ ἐγένετο* of John i. 14, was an entirely new revelation to the Jews. This view is common enough, but quite erroneous, as I believe. Apart from the fact that this same psalm is applied by the Jews to the Messiah,* there is ample evidence to show that a section, at any rate, of the Jewish contemporaries of our Lord were prepared to welcome in their Messiah a Divine Person. For, to sum up this evidence under distinct headings—

1. The writer of St. John's Gospel does not pretend to a new revelation. It was written that we might believe "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (John xx. 31); in other words, that Jesus claimed to possess, and did in fact possess, those Divine attributes which, by popular acknowledgment, belonged to the Messiah. He holds no higher or different creed than that of Nathaniel, the true Israelite, "Rabbi, thou art "the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 49); or Martha, "I believe that thou art the Christ, "the Son of God, *which should come into the world*" (Matt. xxvi. 63); or Peter, "We believe and are sure

* Midrash on Ps. xviii.: "R. Jehuda said in the name of "Rabbi Chama, When the Messiah shall have come, God will "place him on his right hand, since it is so affirmed in Ps. cx." The Pharisees are astonished, not, indeed, at the novelty of the argument, but that Jesus should, without any scholastic training, have shewn himself an adept in the controversial subtleties of the time.

"that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (John vi. 69).

2. The title "Son of God" belongs primarily to the "Word of God," the *מִימְרָא דִּי* of the Targums. Thus Philo applies to the Logos the epithet *πρωτόγονος*, and to Solomon's question what is his name, and what his son's name (Prov. xxx. 4), no other answer appears to him to be forthcoming than the sublime description of wisdom in Prov. viii. 22. (Philo de Ebriet, p. 245, d). And with this conception the Chaldee paraphrasts are familiar: "And the word of God Jehovah said, Behold Adam whom I created is thy only-begotten son, *יָדִיד*, in the world, as I am thy only-begotten Son in the High Heaven" (Targ. Hieros. on Gen. iii. 22).

The medium of its appropriation to the Messiah is the Messianic passage of Daniel vii. 14,—the "Son of man" coming "in the clouds of heaven," to whom was given "dominion, glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him;" whose dominion "is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed," could be none other than the Eternal Son or Word of God (Luke xxii. 70); *ὁ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος, ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστί* (John iii. 31). The Jews acknowledge this passage in Daniel to be wholly Messianic (Midrash Rabbath, fol. 209, col. 4, ed. 2, Amsterdam.) "The King Messiah from what scripture? He shall have dominion from sea to sea (Ps. lxxii. 8). And the land from what scripture? All kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him" (Ps. lxxii. 11). And it

"is said, "Behold, with the clouds of heaven" (Dan. vii. 14).

מלך המשיח מנין דכתוב וירד מים ועד ים ומנחם עד
אפסי ארץ וארץ מנין דכתוב וישתחוו לו כל מלכים כל
גוים יעבדוהו ואומר וארו עם ענני שמיא וגומר :

And Anani is one of the names of the Messiah in the Targum (1 Chron. iii. 34); and a Midrash on the second psalm completes as far as they are concerned the identification of the Son or Word of God with the "Son of man." "I am He of whom it is said, Thou art my Son, even he of whom it is written, Behold with the clouds of Heaven," אמר לו בני אתה וכתוב,

אחר וארו עם ענני שמיא אמר אלי בני אתה.*

A passage in the Zohar further illustrates the connexion I am seeking to establish (vol. iii., p. 307. Ed. Amsterdam). The Lord riding on "a swift cloud" to judge Egypt (Isa. xix. 1), is the Son of the second psalm. "Thou art the Son, the faithful Shepherd: of thee it is said, Kiss the Son; thou art the governor of the earth, the head of Israel; the Lord of the ministering angels (comp. Heb. i. 5); the Son of the

* The Midrash immediately following this one throws some light on the controversy between Celsus and Origen (bk. i). Celsus had asserted that the Jews acknowledged a "Son of God," and put in the mouth of a Jew the following words, Ἄλλ' εἶπεν ὁ ἐμὸς προφήτης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ποτὲ, ὅτι ἤξει θεοῦ υἱὸς, τῶν ὁσίων Κριτῆς καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων Κολαστής. The truth of this prosopopoeia Origen denies, Ἰουδαῖος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσαι ὅτι προφήτης τις εἶπεν ἤξειν θεοῦ υἱόν ὃ γὰρ λέγουσιν εἶσιν ὅτι ἤξει ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολλάκις δὴ ζητοῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐθέως περὶ υἱοῦ θεοῦ ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοιοῦτου οὐδὲ προφητευσθέντος. Now, according to the Midrash, the Minim, of whom we shall

"Highest (comp. *υἱὸς ὑψίστου*, Luke i. 32); the Son of "the Holy and Blessed one, yea, the Shechina himself" (comp. *ἐσαήνυσεν*, John i. 14)." Hence the Jews could urge, "We know this man whence he is, but when "Christ cometh no man knoweth whence he is" (John vii. 27). Our Lord himself admits the force of the objection; for He says, the Messiah should indeed come, "sitting on the right hand of power, and in the clouds "of heaven" (Matt. xxvi. 64; comp. Matt. xvi. 27; Mark viii. 38, etc).

3. The "Word of God" is very intimately connected by the earliest Jewish writers with the work of the Messiah.

(a) Targum Hieros. on Ex. xii. 42: "Moses shall "come forth from the wilderness, and the King Messiah "from out of Rome; the one shall speak from the top "of a cloud, and the other shall speak from the top "of a cloud, and the Word of God shall speak "between them, and they shall walk together;" *i.e.*, be to all purposes one.

מִשְׁכַּח יִפְּוֹק מִן גֹּ' מְדַבֵּר וּמִלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא מִן גֹּ'
לְכָא דִּין יְדַבֵּר בְּרִישׁ עֲנָנָא וְדִין יְדַבֵּר בְּרִישׁ עֲנָנָא
וּמִמְרָא דִּין מְדַבֵּר בֵּין מְרִנִּיחִין וְאֵינֶן בְּחֻדָּא מַחֲלֵבִין:

have much to say as we proceed, brought forward the second psalm to prove that God had a Son. In answer to them, it was sought to institute a distinction between the expressions, "Thou art a son "to me" *בני אלה* and "Thou art my Son" *בני אלה*. The psalmist, it is said, would have used the former expression, had his intention been to ascribe a real and proper Sonship to the Messiah. As it is, he only selects him as his favourite servant, *לעבד שמועו רבו קומו רוח* and loves him as a son, *ואמר לי אני מהבב לך בנני*. Compare the frequent use of *παῖς* in the New Testament.

Compare Rev. xv. 3, "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."

(b) In Deut. viii. 15, Onkelos notes that the "WORD" shall avenge himself of those that destroy the Messiah.

(c) Jonathan paraphrases Mic. vii. 14: "Feed thy people by thy WORD:" comp. *τροφὰς ταῖς διαβολαῖς*, Philo de Decal., p. 745 "in the days to come;" a term often used for the days of the Messiah.

(d) Gen. xlix. 18: "I have waited for thy salvation, O God," יְהוּדָה the Jerusalem Targum explains, by "Salvation by the WORD of the Lord;" and then is added, "But it is said in reference to the Messiah, the son of David, the coming one, to save the sons of Israel, and to deliver them from the captivity, and for his redemption my soul longeth." כֹּחַ אֱלֹהִים לְפִירְקָנָהּ דְּמִשְׁחָא בְּן דְּדָוִד עָתִיד לְפִירְקָהּ יִתְּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְאַפְקוּתָהוּ מִגְלוּתָא וּלְפִירְקָנָהּ סְכִית נַפְשִׁי*:

(e) In the Midrashim on Ps. cxlvi., much is written about animals clean and unclean. These differences, it is said, will cease in the days of the Messiah, because the Shechina will dwell among them לְעָתִיד לָבֵא שְׁחֻשְׁכִּינָה

* אמר אבונן יעקב לא לפורקניה דגדעון בר יואש סכית נפשי דהיא שעת ולא לפורקניה דשמשון דחוא פורקן מדעם עכיר, אלא לפורקנא דאמרת במימד למיתי לעמד בני ישראל ליה לפורקנד סכית נפשי:

"Our Father Jacob said: Not for the deliverance by Gideon,

בְּיָמָם אֵינָם אֲסוּרִין. "In the age to come, when the Shechina shall be among them, these shall be regarded as clean." With this compare the well-known passage in Midr. Tillim, fol. 10: "R. Jochanan saith, Three years and a half the Divine Glory stood on the Mount of Olives and cried, Seek the Lord, while he may be found."

(f) Μεγάλης βουλῆς Ἀγγέλως (LXX. Isa. ix. 5). "No other than the Metatron of the Talmudists, in whose heavenly courts all cases requiring rigid justice are said to be judged; we hence derive no bad argument for the high antiquity of this part of the Jewish Cabbala" (Oxlee, "Christian Doctrine on the Principles of Judaism," vol. ii., p. 329). The passage is referred to the Messiah by the Targum, but Prince of Peace, שֵׁר יְהוֹשָׁלוֹם, alone is made appellative. Compare Tert., c. Prax. xvi.; "Filius itaque qui ab initio *judicavit*."*

(g) The Shechina is the Bridegroom of Israel, see Shir Hasshirim Rabba on the יְהוֹשִׁיָּה of verse 2; and compare also R. Menachem de Recanati, fol. 15, col. 1, *passim*. "Therefore did the Holy and Blessed One

"the son of Joash, does my soul languish, since it will only be a temporary one, nor yet for the deliverance by Samson, since the duration thereof will be brief, but it is for that GREAT SALVATION BY THE LOGOS, which thou hast promised to bring to thy people Israel, that my soul languishes."

* So in the opening formulæ of the daily prayers of Mohammedans, God is addressed as the "Ruler of the day of reckoning," مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ, and the two conceptions of Fate and Retribution are set the one by the side of the other, in order that by the latter the personality of God may be assured. Even as Plato

address Israel as a Bridegroom to his bride" (Isa. lxii. 5):
 ועל כן דמה הבקו את ישראל לחתן וכלה
 שנאמר ומשש חתן על כלה ישש עליך
 אלהיך:

But the Messiah is also the Bridegroom of Israel. For him and in his honour the forty-fifth psalm is written as a Divine epithalamium. "Thou art fairer than the children of men," is rendered by the Targum, "Thy beauty, O King Messiah," שופרד מלכא משיח (comp. verse 7, "Thou, O King Messiah, lovest righteousness," etc.)

(h) Angel of the Covenant. מלאך הברית (Mal. iii. 1). Kimchi explains this of the Messiah, מלך הוא מלאך. It is necessary to explain that, according to Jewish tradition, Elijah presides in person at the circumcision of every Jewish child, and a chair is invariably left vacant for him on such occasions. As circumcision came to be regarded as the Covenant, הברית, "par excellence," so to Elijah was appropriated the title Angel of the Covenant. But, as Kimchi acutely notes, the Angel of the Covenant is none other than the Lord of the house himself, and this must be the Messiah. But in the Zohar, fol. 86, c. 286, to this "Angel of the Covenant" are ascribed

(De Leg. x. 16) taught the subordination of the individual to the good of the whole, and was nevertheless able to affirm the existence of a future state of retribution. Modern philosophy holds in the main to Plato's first proposition, but has shewn itself unable in some instances to grasp the importance of this its true and necessary complement.

the Theophanies of the patriarchal times: "He said, "I will certainly come unto thee (Gen. xviii. 10). It "is not related who said these words, but during the "whole interview he who spake was the Angel of the "Covenant, the Holy and Blessed One."

(i) יהוה. The Tetragrammaton, יהוה, belonged peculiarly to the Supreme Deity (Isa. xlii. 8), but Jeremiah (xxiii. 6), uses it once of the Messiah, as Jonathan affirms: "I will raise up to David Messias "the Righteous One, וְיֵשׁוּעַ לְדָוִד מְשִׁיחַ דְּצִדִּיקָא, which Oxlee correctly but too prosily translates "the Messias "of the Righteous."

Notice also in this connection the following extracts, the last of which has not, I think, been quoted by any one prior to myself.

1. Bava Bathra, fol. 75, 2; En Jacob, part ii., fol. 89, col. 3.—"Three things are called by the name "of Jehovah: the righteous (Isa. xliii. 7), the Messias " (Jer. xxiii. 6), and Jerusalem (Ez. xlviii. 35)."

2. Midrash on Lam. i. 16.—"What is the name of "the Messiah? R. Abba bar Cachana said, Jehovah "is his name."

3. Midrash Tillim, f. 16, 1.—"What is Messiah's "name? Jehovah, a man of war."

4. Midrash Mishlee, fol. 57, i.—"R. Huna said, Eight "names are given to the Messias:—

"1. Innon (Ps. lxxii. 17), יָפִין, from בֵּן, a son.

"2. JEHOVAH.

"3. Our Righteousness.

"4. Branch.

"5. Comforter (Isa. li. 3).

“ 6. David.

“ 7. Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10).

“ 8. Elijah (Mal. iv. 5).”

5. Targum on Ps. xlv.—“The throne of thy glory, O JEHOVAH, abideth for ever and ever,” כורסי יקדך יי, קים לעלמי עלמין and verse 11 ascribes to him the worship to which none of the angels are entitled (Rev. xxii. 8).

6. Midrash on Prov. vi. 11, quoted here, I believe, for the first time.—“The head is the King Messiah, the coming one who shall pass on at the head of Israel, as it is written, And their king shall pass before them, and the Lord JEHOVAH at the head of them” (Mic. ii. 13).

ויבא—במחלה

ראש זה מלך המשיח שעתיד לעבור בראש ישראל שנאמר ויעבר מלכם לפניכם ויי בראשם :

Some may be inclined to say, after reading these extracts, that inasmuch as the righteous and Jerusalem are called by the name of Jehovah, the person of the Messiah is in no way peculiarly honoured by the appellation. But, as has been seen, the usage in this latter case is far more frequent and emphatic than in the former. And even if we accept the explanation of the passage in Jeremiah, with which Kimchi and the Targum in the main agree, that Jehovah shall justify us in the days of this person, still the belief of the Jewish Church in the very intimate connection of Jehovah personally with the work of the Messiah is, to all intents and purposes, made out. Remembering after what an arduous struggle the Christian Church at length arrived at a satisfactory conclusion

respecting the two natures of Christ, we shall not only be prepared to glean with interest what the Jewish Church may have antecedently determined on the subject, but also to make the most of what we find. The Semitic languages rejecting abstractions, deal largely in a realistic symbolism of a very pronounced character; a clear case of this exists, I believe, in the distinction of a Messiah Ben Joseph and a Messiah Ben David, which we shall presently consider. And it surely is not too much, having regard to the evidence herein already adduced, to say that though we do not find in the Jewish theology the metaphysical definiteness of the Christian decretals, ἀληθινῶς τελείως ἀσυγχύτως ἀδιαρέτως, yet the shadow of a divine halo resting on the person of the Messiah is abundantly apparent. And yet his divinity does not eclipse his humanity; for the "King Messiah" is essentially an earthly king. If his days are "of old, from everlasting," it is in a sense that will also apply to "the Law" and "the Righteous" (Pirke R. Eliezer, c. 3), inasmuch as "his name is spoken of "from the beginning, from the days of the world" (Targ. on Mic. v. 2).

We cannot doubt that a real barrier to the acceptance of our blessed Lord by the Jews as their Messiah was created by the lowliness of the guise wherewith he veiled his Divine personality before he claimed their allegiance. It pleases God at times to speak in the still, small voice that Elijah heard, rather than in the great and strong wind which rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the

Lord; but whether the consciences of men are, as a rule, more amenable to the former mode of operation rather than the latter is doubtful. The Jews, at any rate, expected to receive from their Messiah a sign from heaven, something that should parallel, if it did not surpass, the grand and fearful scene on Mount Sinai, when the Law was given to them.* When our Lord predicted his sufferings and death, it was a stumbling-stone even to Peter (Matt. xvi. 21); and after his death, his disciples refused to be comforted

-
- * "Il ne repousse point les fleuves vers leur source;
" Il ne derange pas les astres dans leur course,
" On lui demande en vain des signes dans les cieux."

The Jews, who attributed to the inferior spirits a command over the powers of Nature (see Olshausen, Bib. Con., vol. i., p. 242), founded thereon the distinction of a greater and a lesser miracle, and, in fact, did not admit that miracles were a certain proof of dogma. The following incident in the life of Rabbi Eliezer, of the school of Schammai (Hieros. Trumah, fol. 43, 3; Jom. Tobh., f. 60, 3), is a graphic commentary on this phase of the difficulty of dealing with the Jews. "On this day Rabbi Eliezer had answered every difficulty with all possible answers in the world. "But they would not accept them. Then he cried, If the Law is as I teach it, let the Charub tree decide. Thereupon the Charub tree moved a hundred yards; some say four hundred. But the wise men said unto him, No proof can be adduced from the Charub tree. Then he said, If the Law is as I teach it, let the Watercourses decide. Thereupon the Watercourses went backwards. But they said, No proof can be adduced from the Watercourses. Then he said, If the Law is as I teach it, let the Walls of the Schools decide. Thereupon the Walls of the Schools assumed a slanting position, as if preparing to fall. Then cried out Rabbi Joshua and said, What though

till he reappeared among them in person. Yet the Jews acknowledged that Messiah must needs suffer.

Παθεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸν χριστὸν καὶ ὡς πρόβατον χηθήσεσθαι οἶδαμεν (J. c. Tryph.), and the Targum, supported by the Babylonian Talmud and the Zohar (vol. ii., p. 115), applies the whole of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah to the Messiah, laying, indeed, the emphasis on the exalted state which awaited Messiah after his humiliation, but not without a frank recognition of the fact that a voluntary death was the gate that had been prescribed for its attainment. "I will appor-

"the learned dispute about the Law, how are ye concerned therein? So in deference to Rabbi Joshua they fell not, and in deference to Rabbi Eliezer they did not right themselves, but remained slanting. Then said Rabbi Eliezer, If the Law is as I teach it, let the Heavens decide. Thereupon the BATH KOL went forth and said, Why contend ye with Rabbi Eliezer, who has faithfully preserved the traditions. Rabbi Jonah stood up and said, It is not in heaven (Deut. xxx. 12). What do these words mean, It is not in heaven. Rabbi Jeremiah said, "When the Law is given from Mount Sinai, what do we care for the Bath Kol?" (Bab Mezzia, fol. 59, 2). And our Lord, who needed not that any should testify of man, "for he knew what was in man," knew too well the dishonouring suspicions that his age would attach to his miracles. When John the Baptist sent his disciples to him to enquire, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" our Lord points indeed to his miracles as evidences of his sovereignty over nature, Matt. xi. 4 (comp. John iii. 2; xi. 47; x. 25, 37, 38; Heb. ii. 4. Targum on Isa. liii.—And the miracles which shall be wrought for us in his days, who will be able to recount?), but adds these words, "And blessed is he who shall not be offended in me;" and Justin Martyr acknowledges plainly that he preferred to bring prophecy rather than miracles into evidence, because his opponents would at once ascribe the latter to magic.

"tion to him a division of the spoils of many nations,
 "and the substance of the potentates he shall divide
 "for spoil; *because he delivered up his soul unto death*"
 עֲדָוָה חֶלֶף דְּמָסָר לְמוֹתָא נַפְשִׁיהּ (Comp. Philo. ii. 8, 9).

This desire to accentuate the change of circumstances that should at different epochs come on the Messiah, probably gave rise to the notion of a double Messiah. That the names Ben Joseph and Ben David are used interchangeably, the following passages seem certainly to show.

1. Tract Succa fol. 52, 1.—"The Rabbis have handed down. To the Messiah Ben David, whose manifestation to the captivity may God grant to take place now in these our days, the Holy One said, My Son, ask of me whatsoever thou choosest When the Messiah Ben Joseph thus saw that he was about to be slain * כִּיֹּן שְׂרֹוּאָה מִשִּׁיחַ בֶּן יוֹסֵף שֶׁנֶּחֱרַג אֹמֵר * he said, in his presence, Master of the Universe, I ask nothing of thee except life. The Holy One said to him, Before thou stoodest up, thy father David had already prophesied concerning thee. He asked

* Oxlee, vol. 2, p. 162, quoting from En Jacob, a compilation of the 15th century, where, both in the Venice and in the Cracow edition a ך has been prefixed to מִשִּׁיחַ translates "When he (Messias Ben David) saw that the Messiah Ben Joseph was being slain." But neither in the first Amsterdam edition, Benbanista, nor in the Prague edition, nor in Jalkut Shimoni, who quotes the passage at Ps. ii., can I discover any ך, and I was glad to find that Meüshen at Matt. i., 1. page 13, agrees with my rendering.

"Postquam autem vidit Messias filius Josephi, se occidendum
 "esse."

"life of thee, and thou gavest it him" (Ps. xxi. 4).

2. Zohar Ohadash, fol. 45, col. 1, quoted from Oxlee—

To Ben Ephraim the Scripture is applied, "And all the house of Israel shall mourn over him and shall bury him," 1 Kings xiv. 13; while in the Tykune Zohar, fol. 145, col. 1, it is said, Messias Ben Ephraim shall never die.

3. Pesikta, fol. 62.—

We find that the Messias Ben David, the Messias to whom the Holy One had respect before the world was created, and who is to disgrace Satan, is here called *Ephraim*, Messias my Righteousness.*

4. In Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, only one Messias is mentioned.

Poignant the sorrow, but brief its duration. "Come thou here (Midrash on Ruth, 2, 14), "is said of the King Messiah, *Come thou hither* means, Come near to thy kingdom . . . *Dip thy morsel in the vinegar*. This is said because of his sorrow (Isa. liii. 5). He was wounded for our transgressions. *And she sat beside the reapers*, His kingdom will be taken from him for a little while," לְשָׁעָה. The disciples of Jesus anticipated a speedy return of their Saviour (John xxii. 20). The restoration of "the kingdom to Israel" was dear to their hearts, even before his ascension (Acts i. 6). Doubtless, it was so to our

* This remarkable passage is quoted in the Jalkut Shimon's ad Isa. lx., "Arise, shine, for thy light is come;" and may be seen *in extenso* by the English reader in Dr. McCaul's tract on the 53rd chapter of Isaiah *in fine*.

Lord himself. But "the times and seasons" the Father had reserved in his own power. Meanwhile, the precedence still belongs to the Jew. For the disciples are commissioned to be his witnesses, first in Jerusalem and in all Judæa, and then in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.

CHAPTER II. A.D. 33—70.

FIRST SECTION—HISTORICAL.

THE name Jewish Christians will be used in this Essay to denote all Christian Jews, including St. Paul, who, in his way of conducting an argument, in his doctrinal premises, and in his literal application of prophecy to the restoration of Israel, is verily a "Hebrew of the Hebrews."

The relation of the Jewish Christians to the Jews during the apostolic period will be found to have been this. Outwardly they presented the appearance of a single community, and were regarded by the Romans as identical (Acts xviii. 15: compare Bingham. *Antiq.*, bk. i., c. 1). Inwardly, too, they agreed in many points with the Jews; but were rent from the parent stock by their emphatic and determined assertion of the Messiahship of Jesus.

The day that gave birth to the old Theocracy was equally the birthday of the new.* When the Pen-

* The feast of First Fruits, יום הבכורים, has generally been called by the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem, The Festival of the Giving of the Law, יום מתן תורה. So Augustine, "*Christus a Deo clarificatus ascensione in coelum misit Spiritum suum sanctum die Pentecostis. In lege autem in libro Moysi Exodo a die agni occisi et manducati quinquaginta dies numerantur et data est lex in tabulis lapideis scripta digito Dei*" (Second Disc. on Ps. xc. opp. Ex Ed. Monachorum S. Mauri. Paris. Bk. iv. 6, page 977). The same name is used among the Samaritans, as I discovered personally some years ago.

tecost was fully come, the Gospel of the risen Jesus was publicly proclaimed. Many were pricked in the heart, and gladly receiving his word were baptized. Nevertheless, they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, waiting for their returning Lord (Acts iii. 20), of whose quick coming the Holy Ghost, given to them at their baptism, was a pledge.* For, let us remember, this new baptism of Jesus foreshadowed the Second Advent as completely and as immediately as that of St. John the Baptist had done the first. When all were thus standing on the tiptoe of expectation, no convert had the heart to withhold from his brother in the faith the free use of his goods and chattels; but this community of wealth rested on a very different basis than did that of the Essenes.

For the key-note which Peter, in the name of the Apostles, struck on the first day of his preaching, sufficiently manifested their resolve to admit of no indiscriminate amalgamation of the New Covenant with the Old. The cry, "Save yourselves from this untoward generation," ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης, is not an appeal for internal reform, but a claim to a mission from heaven, distinct from that of the Scribes and Pharisees, to a message from God more able to heal the souls of

* Baptizare in nomine Domini (Shepherd of Hermas. lib. i.): Marcion also used the shorter formula of Baptism. On the other hand, Justin Martyr cites the formula of Baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, as the traditional one (Apol. i., c. 79); and Tertullian bears testimony to the fact that Trine Baptism was adopted already in his time: "Ter mergitamur amplius aliquid respondentem quam Dominus in "Evangelio determinavit." Comp. "Teaching of the Apostles," c. vii.

men than that of the Law. The information that St. Luke gives us, that the disciples abode in the doctrine (*διδασχῇ*) of the Apostles, is very much to the point. For this "doctrine" was a weighty item in our Lord's last commission (Matt. xxviii. 20), *διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν*. And though we may fail to determine its contents as a whole, its vindication of the claim of Jesus to be the Lord of Glory is assured. It is, indeed, said that we must not look for a full-grown Christianity in these the first days of its existence, but must be content to trace a development, to discover a germ, pregnant, it may be, with promise for the future, but in itself incomplete and indefinite. This theory of a development, wholesome and good when restrained to the inessential features of the Faith, to the scaffolding of the building of the Church, is a dangerous one to apply to its more solid and fundamental truths. The same principle which gave, as we have seen, an overpowering authority to the Pentateuch among the Jews, lends to this, the first era of our Faith, an infinite importance. It is one thing to trace the affiliation of Christianity to Judaism, and another to deny its own inherent vitality. The history of this period, the persecution of the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem by the Jews, bears ample testimony to the independence of the Christian Church in life and doctrine.

The Sadducees are the first to head this revival of persecution, "being grieved that they.....preached "through Jesus the Resurrection of the Dead;" but the Pharisees soon join them, and this, the persecution of the Jewish Christians by the Pharisees, is the most impor-

tant factor of all in the argumentative groundwork of this Essay; for this determines, as nothing else could have done, that the rock of offence in the Jewish Christians was something far beyond their most emphatic assertion of the doctrine of the Resurrection.

The martyrdom of Stephen lies near that of our Lord, not only in point of time, but in this also, that the charge brought against him was one around which all sections of the Jews were prepared to rally. He was accused of predicting the destruction of the Temple, and the abrogation of the Law of Moses. How does he meet the charge? Not, I believe, as he is so generally understood to do, by delineating the waywardness of Israel in times past, so Calvin, "Since they pretended their only object was zeal for the Law, he wringeth from them this false boasting," for surely this is a mere accident in the chain of his reasoning; but by connecting their whole history with a supernatural sphere and a supernatural providence. Hence the first movement of Abraham westward from Mesopotamia, "before he dwelt in Charran," is made in obedience to a sign from God (Acts vii. 2). This is especially interesting, as it is nowhere stated in Genesis. Hence the Tabernacle in the wilderness is erected by Moses according to the pattern "that he had seen." Hence the narrative is closed by a reference to the Temple of Solomon, the habitation of the Lord. Hence the meaning of the words, "who have received the Law by the disposition of angels and have not kept it," namely, *as so given*. What he would say is this. The heavenly origin of your Law is lost sight of in your

inordinate veneration of its letter. When you accuse me of tampering with the integrity of the Temple and of the Law, you place the issue between us on too narrow a basis; but if you seek a declaration of my faith, it is the same as that of Daniel, "Behold, I see "the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at "the right hand of God."

If this be the true interpretation of Stephen's speech, we see at once what it was that the Jewish Christians proposed to themselves in holding to the Divine Messiahship of Jesus, viz., to assert the theocratic character of the old dispensation against the political and worldly sense to which the Jews, and particularly the Sadducees, sought to confine it; and to awaken the dormant reminiscences of the Jewish people of a personal God, active on behalf of his people, and tabernacling among them. And for this purpose, they ceased not to proclaim the kingdom of God as among them—among them now, as it had been among their fathers; then as now, unrecognized and disclaimed.

We pass on to consider the martyrdom of St. James the Great, at the hands of Herod Agrippa, A.D. 43. But why should Agrippa, who was "rather of a gentle "and compassionate temper, humane to foreigners, equally "liberal to all men" (Jos. Antiq., xix. 7, 3),* of whose

* As the significance of James' martyrdom can be justly weighed only as it stands out in contrast to the normal mildness of Herod's character, let the reader mark well the following incident, related by Josephus (Antiq. xix., 7, 4): "There was a certain man of "the Jewish nation at Jerusalem who appeared to be very accurate "in the knowledge of the Law. His name was Simon. This

mildness of disposition even the Talmud speaks (Jost, i. 420), have wrought this enormity? "Because," the sacred historian tells us, "he saw it pleased the "Jews." Bright, indeed, and clear in Jesus their God must have shone the faith of those, who by their own countrymen were accounted worthy of such intense hatred.

I shall now adduce some interesting particulars from the Talmud, which fully bear out and corroborate the Evangelistic account of the persecuting spirit of the Jews during this period. In the Jewish Common

"man got together an assembly while the king was absent at "Cæsarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living "holily, and that he might justly be excludèd out of the Temple, "since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of "Agrippa's army informed him that Simon had made such a "speech to the people. So the king sent for him; and as he was "sitting in the theatre he bade him sit down by him, and said "to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in "this place that is contrary to the Law?" But he had nothing "to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was "more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as "esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and "knowing that moderation is more becoming a great man than "passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him." "Nor" as Milman, (bk. xii. 158) remarks, "can the conduct of "Agrippa to Silas be considered as an exception to the general "mildness of his disposition. Silas had steadfastly adhered to his "fortunes, and received as a reward the command of his forces. "But, presuming on his services, he was perpetually reminding the "king of his former low condition. His insolence at last provoked "Agrippa to dismiss Silas from his employment, and imprison him. "Once he relented; but the intractable Silas treated his overtures "with the utmost arrogance; and Agrippa left him in his confinement" (Jos. Antiq., bk. xix. 7, 1).

Prayer Book, there is a prayer said to have been composed by a certain Schammuel Hakkaton, at the time that Gamaliel the elder, who died eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem, was President of the Sanhedrim at Jabneh,* called the Birkath Hamminim, or the cursing of the Minim† (Bab. Berach., fol. 28 b), which Minim are no other than the Jewish Christians.

* Grætz considers this early date to be legendary; even Jost wishes to avoid a collision with the New Testament account of Gamaliel the elder, and relegates the composition to a period subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem under Gamaliel of Jabneh. "Nil magis inimicum veritati, acumine nimio." The constant Jewish tradition is that it was composed under Gamaliel the elder. See Jochasin, under Samuel Hakkaton and Zemach David, Part i., fol. 36, 2, quoted in Buxt. "Sanhedrin migravit ex Jerusalem Japhnam quadraginta annis ante vastationem templi." Comp. Joma, f. 39, 2, "Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, 'no lot was cast (Lev. xvi. 8); the red strip, לשון של חוריה (which "was exposed at the entrance to the Temple at the time that the "scape-goat was sent into the wilderness), did not whiten, the "western torch would not burn; the gates of the Temple opened "of themselves. Whereupon Rabbi Jochanan Ben Zecchai began "to reprove them, saying, 'Wherefore art thou terrified, O Temple! "From this portent, also, I gather too well thy luckless fate, for "so did Zechariah, the son of Iddo, prophecy of thee, Open thy "doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.'" We know that the Jews were banished from Rome by Tiberias, A.D. 36 (Jos. Antiq., xviii. 3, 5), and again under Claudius, A.D. 43 (Suet. V. C., c. 25), so that it may have been the interference of the Romans in their deliberations that caused the removal of the Sanhedrin to Jamnia.

וְלַמְשׁוֹמְדִים אֵל תְּהִי לָהֶם תִּקְוָה וְהַמִּינִים
וְהַמְלָשִׁינִים וְהַמְפֹּרְקִים וְהַמְסֻרֹת פֶּלֶם פֶּרֶנֶע יִאֲבֹדוּ
וְכָל אוֹיְבֵי עַמֶּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִחֶרֶת יִפְרֹתוּ וּמַלְכוּת זָדוֹן

For (1) they are a well-known body of men, and not an obscure sect; (2) they disputed with the Jews respecting the Trinity (Hieros. Berach. cix., fol. 11, col. 4, *passim*); (3) they asserted that God had a Son (Midrash on Ps. ii.); (4) there were no Minims to be found among the Gentiles (Chullin, fol. 13 b); (5) some of the books of the Minim are called Evangelion, and a passage quoted out of one of them is found in Matt. v. 17; Shabbat., 116, a. b., see page 98; * (6) James, a man of the town

מִתְחַרְתָּ הַעֲקָר וְהַשְׁעִיר וְהַתְּכַנִּיעַם בְּמִתְחַרְתָּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ
אֶתָּה יְהוָה שׁוֹבֵר אוֹיְבִים וּמַכְנִיעַ יָדַיִם :

καταρῶμενοι ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστόν. (Just. Martyr.)

"Be thou not a Hope to the Mashmudim, (apostates) but may the Minim (Christians) the double-tongued, the infidels, the traitors perish together in a moment; may the enemies of thy people Israel be speedily annihilated; mayest thou speedily destroy the Kingdom of Pride and rend it in pieces; mayest thou humble them speedily in these our days. Blessed art thou, O God, for thou shalt break into fragments the wicked, and humble the proud." I have copied this from an old manuscript. Both in Buxtorf and in the modern Jewish prayer-books, we only find the prayer in a mutilated form. It is to be observed, that the Mashmudim, the Malchinim, the Caphtorim, the Massoroth, are all names descriptive of the Minim, or Christians. The prayer is called Birkath Hamminim, בִּרְכַת הַמִּינִים, in the Jerusalem Talmud, and in the Compendium of Alphen; but Saddukim, צְדוּקִים, has been generally substituted for Minim throughout in the modern editions, so as not to give unnecessary offence to Christians.

* Ewald (Geschichte des V. J., vii., p. 47), must have lost sight of this passage to write as he does, "dass die Minim nicht überhaupt die Christen, sondern nur die Judenchristen sein sollen ist eine ganz nette Ausflucht heutiger Jüdischer Gelehrten."

of Schecaniah, is called one of the disciples of Jesus, **אחד מתלמידי ישו הנוצרי** Avodah Sarah, fol. 17, b., gloss., **יעקב מינא** is again called James the Min (Avodah Sarah, fol. 27, b. 28 a), and his religion Minnuth, **מינור** (Avodah Sarah, 17, a), and makes use of the name of Jesus in healing. (See page 99.)

It is an old surmise that this Samuel Hakkaton is none other than the Apostle St. Paul. * What is said

Since completing my Essay, the latest instalment of Dr. Levy's new dictionary came to hand, with an article on the Minim of the Talmud. He agrees with me that they were Christians; that they were Jewish Christians; and that Saddukim has, especially in the Babylonian Talmud, been inserted in many places where formerly Minim stood. He quotes further an interesting passage which had escaped me. In Sanhedrin 38a, the question is asked, "Why was man created on Friday, the last day of creation? and the answer is, To confound the Minim, "who say that God had a helper in creating the world."

Dr. Levy's derivation of **מין** from the Arabic **مين** to lie, is not novel, having been noticed though not adopted by Gesenius. On this hypothesis the word would indicate those who believed in a lying Messiah, in the same way, says Dr. Levy, as Bar Cochba got the name of Bar Cozibah. But, to establish the parallel, every follower of Bar Cochba should have been named Bar Cozibah. If, however, we accept the theory, we have to hand an excellent *argumentum ad hominem* to offer to the house of Israel. The Minim were hated, not because they propounded strange views on the person of the Messiah, which were quite orthodox even from a Jewish standpoint, but because they could point to no adequate fulfilment of the expectations which they had succeeded in raising in the mind of their followers. In the triumph of Christian civilization throughout the world, surely a partial fulfilment of these expectations may be found by a candid inquirer.

* Among others who have held this idea is J. Altringius; Zeltner H. Keland, in his note to Otto's Doct. Mish., p. 108.

in favour of the identification is this: Nothing is related in the Talmud of St. Paul *in propria persona*: of other disciples of Jesus, as we have seen, some record has been preserved. The name Samuel, שמואל, is similar to that of Saul, שאול; the Jews, for obvious reasons, would be glad to veil the identity of Paul the persecutor and Paul the Christian apostle and martyr. Both were renowned disciples of Gamaliel, both were zealous against the Christians, both eventually decried as apostates; קטון, Katon, Small is equivalent to the Latin Paulus. On the other hand, Jost insists, apparently with some justice, that Samuel is not only mentioned in connexion with the composition of the prayer, but is a well-known Jewish character, and died a Jewish Rabbi; and points out that Katon, קטון, is not a singular name among the Jews.

It is foreign to our purpose to discuss the opposition which Paul especially encountered at the hands of the Jews. He introduced new elements into the controversy, and otherwise embittered it. What is important to notice, as far as the aim of this Essay is concerned, is that the controversy existed prior to St. Paul, and that at no time did he obtain an exclusive or paramount interest in it.

Our knowledge of the persecutions in Jerusalem closes with the martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother. Fearful is the picture that is presented to us of the state of society within the Holy City at this time. "Simon, the son of Satach, put 80 witches to death in one day" (Sanh., fol. 45, 1). "Rabi Jochanan Ben Zechai commanded the Bitter Waters for the trial of jealousy (Numb. v. 19) to cease, so great had the number of culprits become" (Sota, fol. 47, 1). "It

is impossible for man to contrive any new wickedness which was not then committed" (Wars, vii. 8, 1). "Such was the impudence of the high priests, that they would send their servants to the store-houses, to seize and bring away the tithes that belonged to the priests; by which means some of the priests who were poor perished for want" (Antiq., xx. 75; comp. Matt. xxi. 12).

On the withdrawal of Cestius Gallus from the siege of Jerusalem, Josephus remarks, "God, as I think, owing to his aversion to the city and the sanctuary, suffered not the war to come to an end at this time" (Wars, ii. 19, 6). Again, on the escape of John of Giskala from Titus, "Now this was the work of God, who therefore preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem" (Wars, iv. 2. 3). Again, when the Temple was burning, "But as for that house, God had for certain long ago doomed it to the fire" (Wars, vi. 4. 5). Eleazar, in his speech to his followers at Masada, acknowledges that "this war was the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of, in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to *our own country-men.*" (Wars, vii. 8, 6). Moral turpitude, therefore, had allied itself to religious bigotry in fanning the flames of persecution. And if in the case of others, much more in the case of James. For James, according to all accounts—Gospel of the Hebrews, Acts of the Apostles, Clementines, and Epiphanius—was a strict ascetic. Yet he fared no better than his more liberal brother Paul. "When Paul had appealed to

“Cæsar, and Festus had sent him to Rome, the Jews, “being disappointed in their designs against him, turned “their rage against James, the Lord’s brother, to whom “the apostles had assigned the episcopal chair of Jerusalem” (Eus., bk. ii., c. 23). To the discomfiture of modern critics, their own countrymen judge Paul and James to have been common enemies of the Jewish religion, and servants both of the same Lord; of whom we may therefore say, as Tertullian said of the Romans, amid all their divergences of training and bias, they retained intact the “regular mysteries of the faith,” *regulas sacramentorum*.

The growth of the Christian Church during this period, as depicted in the New Testament, is well-trodden ground on which we need not linger. Suffice it to say, that the Jews themselves are fully persuaded of the fact that between the death of our Lord and the destruction of Jerusalem their religion stood in great peril, on account of the numbers who abandoned it. So Maimonides (Hilcoth Tephilla, c. ii.): “In the “days of Rabbi Gamaliel (the elder), the Minim increased in Israel and afflicted Israel,* and seduced men “to turn away from God. Then, when he saw that it “was indispensably necessary, he instituted that imprecation in which God is besought that the Minim “should be destroyed, and added it to the eighteen

* This complaint of Maimonides reminds one of a curious story in the Talmud. “Once upon a time Rabbi Abhu said to the “Minim that Rabbi Saphra was a renowned scholar. Thereupon “the Minim remitted him the taxes for thirteen years. But it “happened that one day these Minim demanded of Rabbi Saphra

"prayers, so that the whole number now found in the "Prayer Book is nineteen." To the same effect is the gloss in the Compendium of Alphen. As many cherished the Christian faith in secret, it was enacted that whoever made a mistake in reciting the Birkath Hamminim should be incontinently expelled from the reading-desk. In the case of no other prayer was this done, only in this, as it was thought to indicate that the reader was a Christian privately (Berach, fol. 29, a); and furthermore, that none should be received as disciples or allowed to attend the public schools, except those whose inner convictions were found on examination to harmonise fully with the outward observances which they sought to undertake (Berach., fol. 28, a).

The Mother-Church of Jerusalem was not only a considerable body in itself, but was also the centre of a complete and far-reaching organisation. Like a mighty banian tree, Christianity had spread from Jerusalem

"an explanation of Amos iii. 2, 'You only have I known of all "the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all "your iniquities;' adding, 'How can you suppose God to vent his "wrath on one whom he addresses as his friend?' Rabbi Saphra "was unable to reply. The Minim then took him and tied a rope "round his head, and tormented him. When Rabbi Abhu came "and found him in this plight, he demanded of the Minim, "'Why do you torment this Rabbi so cruelly?' They replied, "'Did you not tell us that he was a very learned man? To "the first question we asked of him, he was unable to render any "answer.' Then did Rabbi Abhu answer them, 'I did indeed say "that he was a great scholar in the Talmud, but not in the "Bible'" (Bab. Avoda Sara, fol. 4, a). Of the date of Rabbi Abhu and Rabbi Saphra nothing is known.

to all Judæa, Samaria, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome; the descending tendrils taking root with great facility in the rank soil of heathenism. And everywhere the nucleus of these communities was Jewish. According to one theory (Pearson *Vind. Ignat.*, part ii., c. 13, p. 414; Hammond, *diss. v. adv. Blondel*, c. 1), the Jewish element was for a long time kept distinct from the Gentile, and had its own bishop. Hence, they explain the co-existence of Enodius and Ignatius in Antioch; of Peter and Paul, and of Lesius and Clemens in Rome (*Epiph. Haer. xxvii*). Alexandria, apparently, was an exception to the rule, having only one bishop (*Epiph. Haer., lxxiii*).

Josephus is able, indeed, to ignore the existence of these Jewish Christians at Jerusalem; but the heathen poet, Claudian, does the same in regard to the whole Christian community in Rome as late as the year 400, A.D. Eusebius mentions a certain Thebuthis, who immediately after the death of James made a beginning secretly to corrupt the Church, on account of his not being made Bishop (*Hegesippus ap. Eus., iv. 22*). This may account for the fact that a special message from heaven was needed to hasten their flight to Pella, before the city was completely invested by the Romans. It was at this time that the famous Rabban Jochanan Ben Zechai made his escape from Jerusalem as a corpse, being carried out in a bier by his scholars, Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Eliezer, obtaining thereupon permission from Vespasian to retire to Jamnia. The figurative language in which the Talmud relates the story throws some suspicion on the details. One small

item, however, from its incidental character, is of great value to us in tracing the history of this period. Jochanan asks Vespasian for Jabneh "*and her wise men*;" there was therefore a prior connection of the Sanhedrim with Jabneh, and we are more than justified in following the constant Jewish tradition in placing the cursing of the Minim, which was composed at Jabneh, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem.

SECOND SECTION—THEOLOGICAL. *

The Holy Trinity.—We have already seen to some extent that in the doctrine of the Metatron and of the Shechinah, Judaism acknowledges a Trinity of Relations and Influences. It would not be difficult to show that these doctrines have occasionally received at the hands of the Rabbis a further development, so as to become closely allied to the Christian doctrine of a Trinity of Persons. Take, for example, the following two passages:—

Sanhed., perek 4: "The Sadducees said to R. Idith, "It is written, And he said unto Moses, Come up unto

* The feminine form Shechinah שכינה, is one of the many points of contact of Judaism with the Gnostic systems. Shechinah is also feminine in its German form, "die Shechina." The Bishop of Marino, in his Italian treatise on the Incarnation, "Dell' Incarnazione "del Verbo," has also given the term a feminine gender, "La "Shechinah," when, "Lo Shechinah," would certainly have sounded more appropriate to orthodox ears.

"Jehovah (Ex. xxiv. i). The expression should have been, "Come up unto me. He replied, This is the Metatron, "whose name is as the name of his master; according "to the Scripture (Ex. xxiii. 21), For my name is in "him"—the intention being according to R. Moses Gerundensis, cited by Oxlee, i., p. 128, that Moses should come into the midst of the cloud where was the Glory of Jehovah; but not that he should come unto Jehovah, personally so called, For no man shall see ME and live (Ex. xxxiii. 20). Compare the use Tertullian makes of this text against Praxias.

Targum ps.-Jon. (Ex. xxxiii. 16): "Wherein shall it "be known that I have found grace in thy sight, save "when thy Shechinah shall speak with us, and wonders "shall happen among us, to take away the Spirit of "Prophecy from the nations of the earth, and to "speak in the Holy Ghost with me and with this "people." *

But it is the Cabbalists whose frequent reference to the sacred mysteries of the Holy Trinity, strikes one most forcibly. I had once the privilege of inspecting a copy of the works of R. Menachem of Reccanati, with the references to the Trinity underlined, and was simply amazed at the number of them. And they trace this their doctrine to ancient times, to Moses and Abraham;

* וּבְקֶמֶת יִתְיַדַע כְּדֵינָן אֲרָם אֲשֶׁכִּחִית רַחֲמֵינוּ הַקָּדוֹשׁ
אֲבָא וְעַמּוּד אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּמַלְלוֹת שְׂכָנֵנוּ וְיִתְעַבְדּוּ לָנוּ
כְּרִישָׁנוּ בְּמַלְלוֹתֵינוּ רַחֵם נְבֻאָה מַעֲלֵנוּ אֲמִינָה וְהִתִּי
מִתְמַלִּיל בְּרַחֲמֵי הַקָּדוֹשׁ לִי וְלַעֲמִי :

but the modern Jew empties these references at once of all significance by placing them in the category of a Hagada—that is, he treats them as poetical conceptions, devised for ecstatic meditation, which he regards as distinct from all intellectual and dogmatical apprehension of the Faith.

A curious passage occurs in Eben Ezra's Commentary on Gen. xviii. 1: "Lo, there are some that say that "God is three men. HE is ONE and HE is THREE, and "they are not separated." חנה קצת אמרו כי השם ג' אנשים הוא אחד והוא נ' ולא יתפרדו.

In an old edition printed at Naples 1488, instead of חנה קצת, I have found written, "Those who are in "error," טועי רוח, omitted by Buxtorf. Gfrörer *Jahrhundert des Heils*, vol. i., p. 342, writes—"Die "Christen rechtfertigen ihre Lehre von der Drei- "einigkeit seit den ältesten Zeiten aus Genes. xviii. 1, "wo der Herr in Gestalt von drei Männern erschien." But, as far as I have been able to ascertain, they all, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Chrysostom, merely infer from the passage, as do the Jews themselves, the presence of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. It may be Eben Ezra here refers to the Christians, although when he does so elsewhere, he invariably uses the definite expression נוצרים, and such is the reading of at least one manuscript. Oxlee i., p. 121, could only have referred it to the Cabbalists through ignorance of these variations in the reading, since no Jew would ever think of ascribing error to the Cabbalists. If I may venture to proffer a suggestion, it is our old friends the Minim, or

Jewish Christians, who are here intended by Eben Ezra. Their special point of controversy is represented, both in the Talmud and the Midrashim, to have been the Holy Trinity. Meanwhile, we may place side by side with Eben Ezra's comment, Gfrörer's quotation from Philo on the same text:—

Ἐπειδὴν ψυχὴ, καθάπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ θεῶ περιλαμφθῆ καὶ ὅλη δι' ὅλων νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀναπλησθεῖσα ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεχυμέναις αὐγαῖς ἄσκιος γένηται, τριττὴν φαντασίαν ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει τοῦ μὲν ὡς ὄντος, τοῖν δὲ ἄλλοις δυοῖν ὡς ἂν ἀπανγαζομένων ἀπὸ τούτου σκιῶν, ὅποῖόν τι συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἐν αἰσθητῇ φωτὶ διατρίβουσιν. ἡ γὰρ ἐστῶτων ἢ κινουμένων διτταὶ σκιαὶ πολλάκις συμπίπτουσι.

The Creation.—The first article of the Jewish creed that God alone is the Creator of the world, לַבְּדוֹ יְהוָה וְיֵשׁוּעַ וְיֵשׁוּעַ לְכֹל הַמַּעֲשִׂים, is corroborated by the testimony of the ancient Jewish Church, which has substituted in all the Targums on Gen. i. 1, the abbreviated form of Jehovah יְיָ for Elohim. The fact that the New Testament writers ascribe the work of creation to Jesus, is therefore a proof of singular cogency, that they realized the Proper Godhead of our Saviour. “For by Him—who is the first-born of every creature, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, מְקוֹם שֶׁל בְּרִיּוּתוֹ יְיָ (Zohar, Gen., fol. 77, col. 303)—were all things created.” (Col. i. 16; comp. Eph. iii. 3, 9, Heb. i. 2, 3). Equally definite is the doctrine of the age immediately following. In a fragment preserved by Jerome of the dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, we have a certain indication that the Church of Pella was not Ebionite. “In “Filio fecit Deus cœlum et terram:” comp. Jerusalem

Targum, יְיָ בְּרוּךְ מְאֹד בְּרָא. "This," writes Bishop Lightfoot, "is the earliest known expression of Hebrew Christian doctrine after the canonical writings, except perhaps the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" (Gal., p. 313, n. 3).

Angels.—The Jews seem to have derived their Hierarchy of Angels, good and bad, of which we find traces in the New Testament, from the Persians. The title Archangel שַׂר הַרְאֵשׁוֹן (Dan. x. 13); שַׂר הַגְּבִרִים (Dan. xii. 1), is applied to Michael (Comp. Jude, 9; 1 Thess. iv. 6). The number of the good ones is great: "ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him" (Dan. vii. 10; comp. Matt. xxvi. 53, Luke ii. 13, Heb. xii. 23), but that of the evil ones is greater. "There is a tradition that after the Israelites had sinned in the matter of the calf, there came down 120 myriads of corrupt angels, who broke the crown which 60 myriads of ministering angels had placed on the heads of all the Israelites, when they promised to do and to hearken to all that God should ordain" (Shabbat, fol. 88. a). The cause of their fall was *pride* (1 Tim. iii. 6), but, if we credit the Rabbis, not the pride of which Milton sings: "Raphael said, 'When God, Blessed and Holy, desired to create the first man, he created a company of angels,* and said to them: Is it your desire that we should create man in our image? To whom they: What is his work and

* This "company of angels" might appear to contradict the account I have already given of the creation, were it not palpably called into being in deference to grammatical requirements (see Ewald's Grammar), and not as representing any genuine Jewish tradition.

"condition? When God had¹ fully explained everything "to them, they answered him: What is man, that "thou art mindful of him? (Ps. viii. 4). Then did God "with his small finger consume them" (Sanh., c. 4, fol. 38, b, line 3; comp. Matt. xxv. 41, Apoc. xx. 10).*

The names of the fallen angels in the New Testament correspond with their Rabbinical designations. Thus they are called by the Rabbis, "spirits of uncleanness," ררוחור "טומאה" which reminds one not only of the unclean "spirits" of the Gospel; but of the πνεύματα τρία ἀκάθαρτα ὁμοια βατράχοις of the Apocalypse xvi. 13; comp. Zech. xiii. 2, ררוחור חטטמאה. The Rabbis have also a Kingdom of Evil, מלכות חייבא, which usually signifies any kingdom hostile to Israel, but is used in the Zohar as equivalent to מלכות שטן, "Kingdom of Satan" (Matt. xii. 26). The Devil himself has different names.

1. The Angel of Death, מלאך המות:
2. Ashmodius, אשמודי, from שמד, and destroyer, as in 1 Cor. x. 10, he is called the destroyer, ὁλοθρευτής.
3. Abaddon, אבדון: Rev. ix. 11.
4. The Slanderer, διάβολος מקטרג, ὁ κατηγοροῦς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν: Apoc. xii. 10. (Comp. "L'Avvocato del Dia-volo" the censor of Roman Saints prior to canonization.)

* Substantially the same story is related in the Koran (Surah viii). "And verily We created you, then fashioned you, then We "said unto the angels, Fall down and worship Adam, and they "all worshipped him, except Eblis, who was not one of the worship-pers. He said, What hinders thee that thou dost not worship when "I command thee? He answered, I am better than he. Me "hast thou created of fire, and him of clay. He said, Get thee "down from heaven; it shall not be given thee to behave arro-gantly therein." But no avowal is made of the Jewish source from which it is taken.

5. The Ancient Serpent, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, חֶקֶל מוֹנֵי; Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2.

6. "Lucifer," Isa. xiv. 2, falling as lightning from heaven: Luke x. 18.

7. The Evil Principle, יצר הרע, because he fills the heart: Acts v. 3.

8. The Blinding God, סמאל, since he blinds the mind: 2 Cor. iv. 2.

9. "Prince of the power of the Air," שָׁלִיט עֲלֵיּוֹנִים:

10. "Prince of the World," שר העולם: Eph. ii. 2. The theory that the demons of the Gospels are the souls of deceased men (Just. Mart., Apol. 1, 2, p. 65), is not derived from Jewish sources.

The Incarnation.—I have discussed the light in which the claims of Christ to be God Incarnate might be affirmed to appear to his Jewish contemporaries; let us see very briefly to what extent the acceptance of his claims moulded the actions of his followers in the Apostolic age. And herein we may notice at the outset that the Apostles of Jesus ever speak of their commission in terms commensurate with its dignity, and we must either do gross violence to the sober spirit of the writers of the New Testament, or else allow their exalted language its legitimate application.* What nonsense, for example, is John iii. 12, if what follows be not taken literally? Great, verily, is the mystery of godliness (1 Tim. iii. 16)

* "You urge Christ's followers' simplicity:

"But how does shifting blame, evade it?

"Have wisdom's words no more felicity?

"The stumbling-block, His speech, who laid it."

Browning, Ch. Eve and Easter-day.

if God be indeed manifested in the flesh, but no mystery at all for a man to be born into the world. Were such words ever deemed applicable to Socrates, great indeed among men? The reason is obvious. The wisest counsels are mere *obiter dicta*, useless skeletons, till clothed upon by the fleshly vigour of a new life. The Apostles, rightly or wrongly, believed Christ to be alive, able to reward and to punish—able not merely to counsel, but to strengthen and to save, and in this conviction lay the secret of their loyalty and faithfulness to their Master. They were banded together for a distinct purpose, and that purpose was to present to the world an external and palpable witness of the Divine Messiaship of Jesus. The offices of mutual edification were secondary. Quite foremost in the Apostolic programme stood the dissemination of the “good news” with which it lay charged. The testimony for Christ, whose precursors all the prophets had been, כל הנביאים לא נתנבאו אלא לימות מלך המשיח. (Bab. Sanh., 99, col. 1; Shabb., 63, col. 1), was not complete, nor could it be, till swelled by the “noble army of “martyrs,” to furnish which the Church had risen a Mother in Israel. To this St. Paul refers when he speaks of “filling up that which is behind of the afflictions of “Christ.” And how full of meaning is the early history of the Christian Church, if we read it in this light? We see a reason, do we not, that our Lord should have appeared after his resurrection to his disciples only, and we understand why the Jewish Christians looked upon themselves not as a sect of the Jews, but as the representatives of the whole Jewish people; and on the unconverted Jews as traitors in the camp of God, who should have

joined them in the work of evangelization, but whom God had rejected. Their theology remained the same, but the spirit which animated that theology was changed. Hope had usurped the place of despair, for "God had visited" and redeemed his people."

The Second Coming of Christ.—To the temporal reign of Messias at Jerusalem over all nations, both Jews and Jewish Christians looked forward with longing eyes. It was because they were inspired by this hope, that they took up arms against Vespasian and Hadrian.

"What did most elevate them," says Josephus, "was an ambiguous oracle that was found in their sacred writings, how about that time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth" (comp. Luke i. 67). So in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh., fol. 91), it is said, "Between now and the days of the Messiah the only difference will be the subjugation of the Gentiles." "Hoc ita sentiunt," writes Origen, *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, ii., c. 17, "qui Christum quidem credentes judaico autem quodam sensu scripturas divinas intelligentes, nihil ex his dignum divinis pollicitationibus præsumserunt;" and Eusebius on Ps. cvi., verse 47, edit. Montf., p. 690, bears evidence to the prevalence of this opinion only to reject it. *Διδάσκονται εὐχεσθαι τυχεῖν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν συναγωγῆς ἢν' ἤδη ποτὲ τῆς διασπορᾶς ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθῶσιν. ὅπερ Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν φαντάζονται μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, ἐπιστάντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἡλειμμένου· ἡμεῖς δὲ. κ. τ. λ.*

It was thought that Nisan would be the month of Messiah's Advent, since Nisan had been the month of

Israel's deliverance from Egypt by Moses,* and the words of Cant. ii. 11, "Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone: the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come," etc., are taken as descriptive of the season of the year (*Shir Hasshirin Rabba*, fol. xi. 4; comp. *Travels of Benjamin Tudela*, p. 129, Elzevir Edition). The night preceding the Passover was the favourite night for expecting the return of Christ. "*Traditio Judæorum est Christum media nocte venturum in similitudinem Ægyptii temporis quando Pascha celebratum est et exterminator venit, et Dominus super tabernacula transiit et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecrati sunt. Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, et in die vigiliarum paschæ ante noctis dimidium populos demittere non liceat, expectantes Adventum Christi, et postquam illud tempus transierit, securitate præsumta, festum cunctos agere diem*" (*Hieron.*

* Comparisons between Moses and the Messias are frequent in the Jewish books. The following two are peculiarly interesting: *Rabba on Ruth*, page 46, 4—"Rabbi Berachiah said in the name of Rabbi Levi, 'As it was with the First Deliverer so will it be with the Second. The First appeared, disappeared and reappeared, as it is said, 'they met Moses and Aaron' (*Ex. v. 20*). In like manner will the Last Deliverer appear, then disappear, and again become visible."

Rabba on Koheleth, fol. 85, 4,—“Rabbi Berachiah said in the name of Rabbi Isaac: The First Deliverer of Israel resembles the Second. Of the First it is written in *Ex. iv. 20*, 'And Moses took his wife and his sons and set them upon an ass: even so will it happen to the Last Deliverer, since it is written' (*Zech. ix. 9*), 'lowly, and riding upon an ass.'”

ad. Matt. xxv. 5). "Haec est nox quæ a nobis propter
 "adventum regis ac Dei nostri pervigilio celebratur;
 "cujus noctis duplex est ratio, quod in ea et vitam
 "tum recepit et postea regnum orbis terræ recepturus
 "est." (Lactantius Institut., bk. vii., c. 19; comp. Aposto-
 lical Constitutions, bk. v. 19; Epiph. Hær. 70).

Original Sin.—According to St. Paul's reading of Genesis, death came to Adam because of sin, *διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος*. This agrees with the common Jewish adage, *אין מיתה בלא חטא*, "For death from sin no power
 "can separate." His second premise, that there is no sin without a law is illustrated by Mechilta on Exod. xii. 3; *אין ברית אלא תורה*, there is no covenant without a law. The doctrine of original sin is taught by the Targumist on Ruth iv. 22: "And Obed begat Jesse, who was called Nachash, because
 "that in him was found neither iniquity nor depravity
 "to deliver him into the hands of the Angel of Death,
 "to deprive him of his life; and so he continued
 "many days until mention was made before Jehovah
 "of the counsel which the serpent gave to Eve, the
 "wife of Adam, to eat of the tree, whose fruit when
 "they had eaten, they learnt to distinguish between
 "good and evil; and by reason of which counsel all
 "the inhabitants of the earth became amenable to
 "the penalty of death; and in that iniquity lay
 "righteous Jesse." With which compare also the following remarkable passage out of the book Siphri, page 121 (see also Rom. v. 15). "Rabbi José, the
 "Galilean, said: Go and learn to estimate the merits
 "of Messiah the King, and the future praise which

“ shall accrue to the just, by considering the case of
 “ the first man. On Adam was imposed the obedience
 “ of one precept, and when he did not fulfil it, how
 “ numerous the punishments and varieties of death that
 “ came upon him and upon his posterity! Now, which
 “ of the attributes of God is the greater, His wrath or
 “ His loving-kindness? Unquestionably His loving-
 “ kindness. So much greater will be the sufficiency
 “ of the merits of the Messiah, who was *stricken and*
 “ *afflicted for the sins of many*, to provide a full satis-
 “ faction for all evil doers. Wherefore it is said of him,
 “ The Lord hath laid on him the sins of us all.”

But the point on which Jewish theology seizes most vividly, is the fact of corruption, rather than its origin. It is a tenet of the Jews, derived, probably, from the Persians, that evil is co-ordinate with good, and God the author of both. “ Rabbi Simeon
 “ Ben Jochai said to his disciples, If God, blessed
 “ for ever, had not created the good and the evil
 “ principles, *יצרא טיבא ובישה*, which are also called
 “ Light and Darkness, man would not be liable to
 “ praise or blame. But, in that he created both,
 “ God could say (Deut. xxx. 19), ‘Behold I have
 “ set before you Life and Death’ ” (Zohar, Gen.,
 fol. 25, d).

We learn from Josephus that the sects held different views on the subjects of Fate and Free Will, the Essenes and Sadducees occupying respectively the two extreme positions, while the Pharisees say
 “ that some actions, but not all, are the work of
 “ Fate.” (Antiq. xiii. 5. 9; xviii. 1, 3; Wars, ii.)

The Doctrine of Atonement.—The doctrine of the Atonement rests philosophically on the principle enunciated by Jehovah when he said to Abraham, "I will not destroy it for ten's sake" (Gen. xviii. 32); comp. Jos. Antiq., bk. xi. 57, "Ye know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually; and *for the sake of their righteousness** hath not left off the care of you." But the Messiah is the Righteous One, κατ' ἐξοχήν, and his Atonement is proportionally efficacious. Zohar, fol. 85,—"There is a certain place in the Garden of Eden, called the Refuge for the Sick Ones. On entering it Messias exclaims, Let all the sicknesses, and all the woes, and all the punishments of the Israelites come upon me. Whereupon they all came upon him. For had he not relieved Israel by carrying them, no man would have been able to sustain the weight of the punishments due to the Israelites as prescribed in the law. And this is that which is written in Isa. liii. 4, Surely He hath borne our griefs."

(Rabba on Gen. i. 1, quoted by Jalkut Shimoni on Isa. lx.)

"And again, O Messias, my Just One, it will come to pass that the sins of the men committed to thee will

* Some difficulty seems to be felt by commentators on the Canonical Book of Esther, in discovering and seizing the chief point of interest in the story. May it not be this. For hatred of Mordecai *alone*, the whole Jewish people was doomed. For love of Esther *alone*, they were saved. By becoming "bone of our bone," and "flesh of our flesh," Jesus averted the ruin of the human race in precisely the same way.

“ place upon thee a grievous yoke; thine eyes shall not
 “ behold light; thine ears shall be assailed by the
 “ insulting jeers of the people of the world; thy nose
 “ shall scent their stench, thy mouth shall taste their
 “ bitterness, thy tongue shall cleave to the roof of thy
 “ mouth, thy skin shall shrivel to the bone, thy body
 “ become attenuated through mourning and tears. Art
 “ thou pleased with these things? For if thou wilt
 “ assume them to thyself of thyself, it is well; but if not,
 “ speak but the word and the whole shall be disallowed.
 “ Messiah answered him, O Lord of the world, I consent
 “ to take upon me these tribulations, on condition that
 “ thou wilt raise the dead in my days, even those that
 “ have died from the days of Adam till now, that all may
 “ be saved, even those whom wolves and lions have
 “ devoured, and those whom the waters of the ocean or of
 “ rivers have swallowed up; yea, even those who are
 “ abortions from the womb, and those whom thou didst
 “ think upon to create but didst not create. God, ever
 “ Blessed and Holy, answered: It pleaseth me. Then
 “ did Messiah in his love at once take upon himself all
 “ tribulation, as it is written (Isa. liii. 7), He was op-
 “ pressed and he was afflicted.”

Targum on Isa. liii.—

(a) He is delivered up through our iniquities, אַחַמְסַר
 בַּעֲוֹנוֹתֵנָּא.

(b) The rebellious shall have forgiveness for his sake,
 וְלַמְרֹרִיִּא יִשְׁחָבֵק בְּיָלִיָּהּ.

The Law was regarded by the Jews as imposed upon them for the express purpose of expiating their sins. “ Behold, we count them happy which endure ” (James

v. 11). "Whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth" (Prov. iii. 12; Heb. xii. 6). Hence it is called a "yoke," not only by Paul (Gal. v. 1), but by Peter, the Apostle of the circumcision (Acts xv. 10), and by James the Ascetic (Acts xv. 19); and when Justin Martyr argues that this yoke was put upon the Jews for the hardness of their hearts, he goes on the authority of our Lord himself (Matt. xix. 8). Even so the modern Jews firmly believe that in the punctilious performance of all the requirements of the Law, they attain to righteousness and expiate their sins. New light may, perhaps, be thrown in this way on St. Paul's denunciation of the feebleness of the law. Granted, he says, that by fulfilling the law you are able to expiate your sins, the question then arises, inasmuch as a *complete* fulfilment of the Law is necessary for the expiation of *all* your sins, and inasmuch as this complete fulfilment is a moral impossibility, do you not require something further to fall back upon? Jesus fulfilled the whole intention of the Law when he wrought that expiation for Israel, which you are striving to accomplish by the Law, and have signally failed in accomplishing. As the righteous infliction of a loving Father, we can understand the reluctance of the Jewish Christians to forego the Law, even after accepting in all its completeness the Atonement of Christ. As Job willingly suffered rebuke at the hands of Jehovah, for not bearing his torments more patiently. And even Mohammed is said to have pointed to his intense suffering on his death-bed as a sign of the righteousness of his cause, and of the reward awaiting him.

But with all their attachment to the Law, we

cannot suppose that they continued to participate in such Jewish sacrifices as were distinctively piacular. The picture of James condemning the sacrifices and the fire on the altar which Epiphanius gives us (Haer. xxx. 16), may well contain some kernel of reality. According to a notable passage in the Zohar (Exodus ויקחל פרשת, fol. 346, edit. Sulzbach, col. 5), "When the children of Israel were in the Holy Land, "by the services and sacrifices which they rendered "were removed from the whole world all evils and "punishments. Now *המשיח*, the Messiah takes them "upon Himself from the children of Israel." Nevertheless, the sympathies of the Jewish Christians were undoubtedly "Pharisaic" and not Essene (see Bishop Lightfoot's *Essenes*, p. 408). It is probable, indeed, that when the veil of the Temple was rent in twain at the death of our Lord, the whole sacrificial system of the Jews received a shock from which it never wholly recovered.

Justification by Faith. — The grand characteristic feature of Jewish as opposed to Grecian culture, was its dissatisfaction with a mere theory of morals. It laboured to grasp the theory of the universe; it asserted the dignity and consequence of a true Creed. The drift of the third and fourth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans is this: As faith, the ground of Abraham's justification, was anterior to the Law, so faith in the Lord Jesus must precede the consideration of the ethical problems of religion. The interdependence of all truth makes the truth as it is in Jesus the criterion and sustainer of the whole spiritual

life (Rom. v. 1—5). Nevertheless, Christ is the Judge as well as the Saviour of the world; a theory of conduct is superadded to the theory of the universe, yet subordinated to it, and the morality of the Gospel, loyal to its Jewish origin, is resolved into obedience to the will of a Divine Lawgiver. Attention to this point will dissipate the supposed antagonism of St. James to St. Paul. St. James says, "Be ye doers of the Word." This presupposes the acceptance of the Word as the rule of conduct; presupposes, in fact, that very "Faith" "in our Lord Jesus Christ" which is the ground covered by St. Paul. Faith and works do not therefore occupy the position of logical contraries, but are become necessary factors both of the Christian man's life. Faith is expansive, and must act. The devils believe: therefore they tremble. Repentance, *μετάνοια*, a change of purpose and aim, is inevitably joined to true faith. Faith without works is an incomplete moment; "By works faith is made perfect." Just and pertinent is St. Paul's conclusion, "Do we make void the Law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the Law;"—not necessarily the Law of Moses, since the Lawgiver may change his Law, but the principle of obedience on which the validity and authority of all Law depends. It is the immutability of the Mosaic Law which is challenged by the precedence which is given to faith by St. Paul. To the basis of order, which St. James seeks to enforce, he does no violence.

The question becomes a more perplexing one when we attempt to determine the meaning which St. Paul attached to, and his use of, the term justification. He

certainly adopts in writing to the Corinthians the notion of a present justification: "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified:" (1 Cor. vi. 11, comp. τοὺς σωζομένους, Acts ii. 47). In like manner, the rewards and punishments of the Mosaic Law were confined in the first instance to the present world. But with faith in a future life, a new judgment and a new justification come to view, overstepping the boundary of the Church, and embracing the entire human race. Every man shall then receive "the things done in his body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad:" (2 Cor. v. 10). If we ask, What will our faith avail in this future or great judgment, בְּיוֹם דִּינָא רַבָּא—will moral righteousness or the possession of a true creed be the crucial test of the "good and faithful servant?"—it is clear that a creed, however orthodox, that has not made a man meet for the kingdom of light, will avail nothing of itself in that dread hour of trial. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Still the rule of judgment is "the will of my Father;" not an arbitrary code of human invention. And the will of the Father is, "that every one that seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life" (John vi. 40). This Theistic interest makes it impossible to appraise the apportionment of futurity on the lines of pure merit. Room, ample room, will remain for "the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace;" for the intercession of "our

"Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous
 " the propitiation of the sins of the
 " whole world."

We have said that justification by faith is a Jewish doctrine. The following extracts from the *Mechilta* plainly show this. On the words of *Exod. xiv. 81, xv. i.*, "And the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses," we read, "If they had confidence in Moses, much more had they confidence in the Lord whence we learn that to trust the faithful Shepherd—*רִיעָה נֶאֱמָן*, (comp. *Heb. xiii. 20*; *1 Pet. ii. 25*; and in the *Tykuné Zohar*, (*Tyk. 26*) the title *מְרִימָנָה*, *רִעִיָּה*, is applied to the Messiah; compare also the dictum of the schoolmen, 'objectum fidei est Deus speciatim Messias')—is tantamount to expressing our faith in the Creator of the world An excellent matter therefore was this faith, whereby they shewed their confidence in Him who but spake the word, and the world came forth." To faith are applied the words of *Ps. cxviii. 20*; "This gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter." Among the benefits of faith are an IMPUTATION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS; for, "Abraham obtained the inheritance, both of this and the coming world, through faith, whereby he believed on God" (*Gen. xv. 6*). Also the INDWELLING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, since it was "Because the Israelites believed in God that the Holy Spirit dwelt in them, and that they sung a song Whoever holds fast a single precept by faith, in him dwelleth the Holy Spirit. We find this true of our forefathers, that the Holy

"Spirit dwelt in them because they believed, and thereupon they sung a song, as it is written, 'And they believed the Lord, and his servant Moses' (Ex. xiv. 31); upon which immediately follows, 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel' (Ex. xv. 1), which may also be said of David and Deborah as of Moses, that they sung a song because the Holy Spirit dwelt in them."

The Resurrection of the Dead.—החיית המתים. God's universal sovereignty is the basis of Jewish belief in this article. How significant do our Lord's words, "Because I live, ye shall live also," become if we place them by the side, of the Targum of Isa. xxvi. 19, "Thou, Jehovah, art he who makest the dead to live again, and raisest from the earth their skeletons. All who live in the dust shall wake to life and praise thee. For the dew of light, even thy dew (comp. Ps. cx. 3, 'Thou hast the dew of youth'), shall come to those who fulfil thy Law, but the sinners to whom thou gavest power to do good, and who nevertheless have transgressed thy Law, shalt thou cast into hell"—לִגְדֵּי הַתַּמָּסָר. Josephus also says (Antiq., xiii. 1—3; comp. Wars, ii. 10—14), "The latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former shall have power to revive and live again." But according to St. Paul (Acts xxiv. 15; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 22), the Resurrection from the Dead will extend to the unjust no less than to the just. And a still greater shock awaits the doctrine of the Rabbis, for those who are not Jews must also wake to life. "But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning

"those who are asleep, that ye sorrow not as others
"who have no hope" (1 Thess. iv. 13).

The permanent nucleus or seed of the resurrection body the Rabbis believe to be one of the bones in the back, which they call *luz*.

HEAVEN, HELL, HADES, PURGATORY.

Thoroughly Jewish is the New Testament distinction between the present and the coming age; *ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος καὶ ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων*, *הַיּוֹם וְהַיּוֹם הַבָּא* (Matt. xii. 32; Mark iv. 19; 1 Tim. vi. 17—19; 2 Tim. iv. 10).

There has been much discussion among those who are learned in Rabbinical literature as to what this "coming age" represents, whether generally the days of the Messiah, or more definitely the time after death, or again the time after the resurrection from the death. Without entering very deeply into the merits of the question, I will at once substantiate the second usage, by a reference to Midrash Tanchuma, fol. 52, "The coming age is entered upon when a man leaves the world." *עוֹבֵד לְאַחֵר שִׁינָא הָאָדָם מִן הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה*.

This will enable us to understand how the righteous dead come to be represented in the New Testament in the actual possession of the promises of the fathers (Heb. vi. 12), and the spirits of just men made perfect are in communion with angels, with Jesus, and with God himself (Heb. xii. 22—24). To be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord (2 Cor. v. 1—8; Phil. i. 23; 1 Thess. v. 10). St. John beheld in apocalyptic vision around the throne of God myriads

of redeemed souls even before the resurrection (Rev. v. 9; vi. 9; xiv. 1—3).

Heaven is nevertheless in sight of Hell, and Dives in Hades may converse with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; for God hath set Heaven and Hell the one over against the other. "What space intervenes between them? "A hand-breadth. Rabbi Jochanan said, 'There is a "wall between them.' But our Rabbis say that they "lie so evenly that you may see out of the one into "the other;" Midrash on Ecc. vii. 14, which Lightfoot adopts to illustrate Rev. xiv. 10, "Shall be tormented "with fire and brimstone *in the presence* of the holy "angels, and in the presence of the Lamb;" while the great gulf of Luke xvi. 26, is aptly illustrated by Gfrörer out of the Book of Enoch: "The souls of "the righteous are separated from the impious by a "*chasm*, by water and by light."

Josephus, in deference apparently to Grecian ideas, masses his rewards and punishments together in a place which he calls Hades (Wars, ii. 8, 14,) and places underground (Antiq., xviii. 1, 3). Grotius describes the Paradise of the Jews (Luke xxiii. 43) as an intermediate state. But though the Jews sometimes speak of a twofold Paradise, *בן עדן* ו**דלעילא, the one is either merely typical of the other, or else both are peopled, and peopled simultaneously by the spirits of the just.**

In the Jewish Prayer-book there is a service for the dead, *זכרון הנשמות*, and also a prayer, *קדיש*, which all the sons of a Jewish family repeat daily for eleven months after their father's death. A curious passage

occurs in the Babylonian Talmud (Sotah, fol. 34, b), in which prayers are addressed to the spirits of the holy dead. It stands apparently alone, and was pointed out to me by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, of Cambridge. Comp. Job v. 1, "and to which of the saints" (קְדוֹשִׁים) wilt thou turn?" On 1 Cor. iii. 15, *ὡς δὲ πυρὸς*, I subjoin Gfrörer's comment. "Ich sage nicht dass Paulus hier ein Fegefeuer lehre, wohl aber, das er diese Meinung, die zu seiner Zeit unter dem Volke verbreitet war, als ein Bild gebrauche."

But the source of the Jewish doctrine of Purgatory, is the notion that every Jew must have a part in the future life of the blessed. Compare what is said in Jalkut Shimoni, 88, c: "The godless will undergo purification in hell for twelve months; then shall the Righteous come to God and say: O Lord of the universe, these are verily Israelites, who early in the morning and late at even were found in the Synagogue calling on thy name. Then will God say, If this be so, go and heal them. Whereupon the Righteous will straightway go and stand on the ashes of the godless, and will pray for mercy in their behoof. Then will God bring it to pass that out of the ashes that are under the sole of the righteous, the godless will again stand on their feet and be led to eternal life."

The same doctrine is derived (Rosh Hashana, fol. 16, 6, fine,) from Zech. xiii., 9. The third or middle portion, בִּינִינִים, who are neither very good nor very bad, will descend into hell, and cry out, בְּצַפְצָפִין, and will soon come out again.

Others of the Rabbis tell a different tale (Talm. Jer.

Berach, 35, a); "As long as a man lives, there is "hope that God may pardon him when he forsakes "his wicked ways, but when he dies, all hope is at an "end."

In the New Testament, the Holy Spirit is set forth as the Purificator and "through much tribulation," the Perfector of God's people, and it is Christ's prerogative to baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire.

THIRD SECTION—LITURGICAL.

Church Government.—In that Jesus and his disciples called themselves the successors of the ancient prophets, they disclaimed any intention of invading or supplanting the Levitical Priesthood. The Apostles founded their communities after the pattern of the Jewish Synagogues, placing at the head of each a presbyter, רִזּוֹן הַכְּנֶסֶת, also called ἐπίσκοπος, while they, themselves, were styled the angels or messengers of the Churches שְׁלִיחַ צִיּוּר; introducing, for the purpose of distributing the alms of the faithful, an apparently new order, the deacons, who, besides performing their distinctively secular duties, were at liberty to evangelize, or preach the Gospel to such as were aliens to the Faith, but not to preside as heads of such Churches as had been regularly planted and enrolled by the Apostles.

But, with the loss of equilibrium in spiritual matters consequent on the fall of Jerusalem, a change of front was necessitated. It was necessitated in the case of the Jews themselves, who, on being cast

forth from the Holy City, and their Temple razed to the ground, soon lost touch of their former aspirations for universal supremacy; and, by founding schools at Jamnia, Tiberias, and Babylon, sought to furnish in the peaceful and unambitious study of the Law a new centre of interest, and of national cohesion to the younger generation of Israelites. In the case of the Jewish Christians, a compensation was sought and found in the Divine High Priesthood of Christ.* Furthermore, all Christians were called upon to participate in this new Priesthood (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6, xx. 6). Compare Jerome (adv. Luc. c. ii.) *Sacerdotium laici id est baptismus*. That is, they were invited to mingle their prayers and intercessions with those of Christ Himself on behalf of a doomed world. But

* The Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the High Priesthood of our Blessed Lord is first enunciated and so largely dwelt upon, was, apparently, written after the destruction of Jerusalem. An interesting illustration of this office of our Lord is found in the Babylonian Talmud, 39a, "Said yon Sadducee (1st Ams. has Min. מנא) to Rabbi Abuhu—Surely your God is a Priest, כהן, since it is written (Ex. xxv. 2), Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering. When he buried Moses, in what did he purify himself טהר. If you say in water, is it not written (Isa. xl. 12), Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand (כף, foot). Rabbi Abuhu answered him, It was by fire that he purified himself, since it is written, (Isa. lxvi. 15), For, behold, the Lord will come by fire (באש, in fire). But do you mean to imply, continued the Min, that a purification by fire is effectual? On the contrary, said Rabbi Abuhu, the most valid purification is a purification by fire, since it is written (Numb. xxxi. 23), All that abideth not the fire, ye shall make to pass through the water." Our thoughts are carried by this passage to the burning of Jerusalem, and the vindication of our Lord's prophecies concerning it.

the precedent furnished by the Jewish Hierarchy tended very soon to officialize, if I may coin the word, these priestly functions of the Church Universal. The Levitical sympathies of the author of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs are well-known. For he makes the Messiah a descendant of Levi, as well as of Judah, and reckons his priestly office above his kingly. Again, we read that St. John was a "Priest *ιερεὺς*, wearing a mitre;" and in a passage which Bishop Lightfoot believes to be genuine, Clement of Rome seeks to enforce respect for the Christian ordinances, by placing them on a level, in point of authority, with those of the Levitical Institutions. "For to the High Priest peculiar services are intrusted, and the priests have their peculiar office assigned to them, and on Levites peculiar ministrations are imposed; the layman is bound by lay ordinances. Let each of you, brethren, in his own rank give thanks to God, retaining a good conscience, not transgressing the appointed rule of his service."

St. Paul's direction that a Bishop should be the husband of one wife (Tit. i. 6), seems to me identical with the Jewish rule that the members of the Sanhedrin should be "fathers of children, that they might be acquainted with tenderness and compassion" (Milman, vol. ii., p. 105; see Maim. Sanh., c. 2); while the veiling of the women's gallery in the Synagogues of our own day is a striking testimony to the propriety, from a Jewish point of view, of St. Paul's command that women should keep silence in the Churches.

Churches.—The Christian Church of Edessa, which was destroyed by an inundation A.D. 202, is said to have been separated into three parts, after the pattern of the Temple. But the sacred edifices of the Christians were at this early period few and far between. Celsus ap. Orig. cont. Cels. viii., p. 389. βωμὸν καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὺς ιδρύσθαι φεύγουσι. Minucii Felicis Octavius c. 10. Cur nullas aras habent, Templà nulla, nulla nota simulacra. Compare Augustine, "In templo vis orare; in te ora. Sed prius esto templum Dei." Public prayer in private houses is to this day a reputable Jewish practice; indeed, a Synagogue can only be built when there are *ten learned* men with sufficient leisure to devote their time to its duties. I see, therefore, nothing to object to in the rendering of the Authorized Version of κατ' οἶκον by "from house to house." If, as Vitrìnga ("De Synagoga Vetere") and Archbishop Whately ("Kingdom of Christ," 78-80) think, it sometimes happened that the members of a Synagogue came over to Christianity *en masse*, they would doubtless continue to hold their meetings in their Synagogue. In the "Apostolical Constitutions" (ii. 57), the directions given for the building of a Church are evidently drawn from the Jewish Synagogues. "Let the building *be oblong*, pointing *eastward*; let the Bishop's throne be placed in the *middle*, on each side let the presbyters sit; let the reader stand upon an *eminence*." The remains of such ancient Synagogues as those found in Meirôn and Beit Kefr, near Safed, bear witness to excellent taste, and the ground they cover is extensive.

It was the custom of our friends the Minim to pray

eastward (Bab. Bava Bathra, fol. 25, 1), whom Rashi's gloss here as elsewhere identifies with the Christians תלמידי ישו מורים הוראה להתפלל למזרח. The Jewish fashion to this day is the same as it was in the days of Daniel, to pray facing Jerusalem, and so Jexeus, the son of Elxai, instructed his followers to do (Epiph. Haer., xix). Jerusalem was indeed the first Kibla of Mohammed also, who only transferred the Kibla to Mecca in November, A.D. 623.

The Talmud (Shabbat, fol. 116, 1) distinguishes two sorts of Christian places of worship. The "Beit Avidan" (אבידן), according to Jost, stands for אביונים, Ebionites; but is not עבודות, services, better), "House of Perdition," so called because, according to the gloss, it was here that the Christians were accustomed to argue with the Jews out of their own books;—and the Beit Nizrephe, House of Idols — נצרפי, evidently stands for נוצרים, Christians.

Services.—There are distinct traces in the New Testament of the existence among both Jews and Jewish Christians of settled liturgical forms of service; e.g., the Amen that followed the giving of thanks, the use of psalmody, the singing of hymns. But the entire debt which Christian worship owes to Jewish ritual will never be known, though we may hope, with time and study, to trace more clearly the main elements.

It is said that there were 480 Synagogues in Jerusalem alone (Talm. Hieros. Megillah, fol. 73, 4). Each of these Synagogues had a special apartment for hearing the Scriptures read, בית ספר למקרא, and another for hearing the traditions expounded, בית

תלמוד למשנה. Some of them were frequented wholly by foreign Jews, for we read in the Talmud Bab. Megillah, fol. 26, 1, of a Synagogue of the Alexandrians. It may well be, therefore, that different uses were tolerated among them, and if so, that no insuperable difficulty would impede an Apostolic Synagogue from gaining a footing. A policy of conciliation would naturally induce the apostles to adopt the current forms of devotion, and to supplement them with definite Christian instruction.* It is said to have

* "It was proposed (Berach., fol. 12, a; Tamid, 32, b), that the "Ten Commandments (עשרת הדברות), which were recited every morning in the Temple, should be adopted in the Synagogues throughout the land; but this was not carried into effect, because of the Minim, מכי הרעומה המינים, because," as the Jerusalem Targum explains, "it was feared that the Christians would thus be induced to believe that they, the Jews, were in a similar plight as themselves, and only pledged to the observance of the "Ten Commandments, and not to every precept of the whole "Law." And, may we not add, if the Minim had already adopted the practice, to follow suit would be not merely *infra dignitatem*, but *periculosior*. Für so gross hielten sie die Macht der Gewohnheit. Another curious example of the necessity which the Jews felt of protesting against the innovations of the Christians is found in the Talmud (Pesachim, fol. lvi., a). "The inhabitants of Jericho were in the habit of repeating, each to himself in a low voice, the words, Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever, ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד, after the first versicle of Schma, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord (Deut. vi. 4), had been read aloud. But, says Rabbi Abuhu, it was commanded them to repeat these words no longer *submissa voce*, but to recite them in a loud voice, lest they should be suspected of doing what the Christians did, and adding in a low voice something from the Christian Creed, instead of the customary response."

been customary for the doctor of the Law to sit in his chair, and to whisper to the interpreter his exposition of the passage which had been read, which he might do, as even St. Paul directs, in an unknown tongue.

The Aaronic Blessing.—With the blessing contained in Numb. vi. 24, wherewith Aaron and his sons were commanded to bless Israel, the Daily Morning Service in the Temple concluded, and it was subsequently introduced into the Synagogues with some slight alterations. In the Temple it was necessary that the priest, who pronounced the blessing, should be without blemish; but this was not insisted on in the Synagogues. In the Temple, the priest always gave the blessing bare-footed; in the Synagogues, the shoes were sometimes retained. In the Temple, the priest raised his hand to a level with his head; in the Synagogues and in the Schools, no higher than the shoulders. In the Temple, the blessing was pronounced with the tetragrammatic יהוה prefixed; in the Synagogues, Adonai, אֲדֹנָי, was substituted for it. In the Temple, the three divisions of the blessing were pronounced continuously, and at the close the people answered altogether, Amen; in the Synagogues, it was customary to respond after each division—I. Lundius *die alten Jüdischen Heiligthümer* 1704, p. 848. When a priest was not present, the blessing could be pronounced by a layman, only in an optative form. It is remarkable that no mention is made of this blessing in the early Christian writings. It occurs, I believe, though I quote from memory, in the Apos-

tolical Constitutions, and if so, its use may well be primitive.

Baptism.—Every proselyte to Judaism must be baptized as well as circumcised, **אין בר ער שימול**, **וימבול**. Comp. Arrian ad Epic., ii. 9; Tac. Hist., v. 5. The Jews contend that the antiquity of this rite reaches down to the times of the Patriarchs. Jacob, they say, baptized the women of Shechem, Gen. xxxv. 2, **ויחמחרו**, and all Israel was baptized in the wilderness, Ex. xix. 10. **וַיִּקְדְּשׁוּם**. Comp. Ps. 114. 2. **לְקַדְּשׁוֹ**. **הַיְיָ יְהוּדָה יְהוּדָה**. Samson and Solomon baptized the foreign women with whom they associated; and, in the days of David many converts were added to Israel by baptism. The school of Hillel not only maintained the necessity of baptism as a *sine qua non* of any participation in the Covenant, but regarded it as sufficient without circumcision (Shabbat, fol. 135, 1). Whereupon a controversy arose, after the destruction of Jerusalem, between Rabbi Eliezer of the school of Schammai, and Rabbi Jose, the son of Chenaniah. (Bab. Jevam. fol. 46, 2). But it is interesting to notice that, although Rabbi Eliezer maintained the validity of circumcision without baptism, he did so on the ground that their fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had not been baptized; but he did not attempt to deny the fact that baptism had been customary from time immemorial among the Jews in receiving fresh converts to their religion. Indeed, the multitudes that flocked to St. John the Baptist are a proof that baptism was a rite of recognised standing among them for they made no inquiries

anent the significance of the ceremony, asking only to be assured that John had received authority to baptize those who were already Jews (John i. 25). But if Christian baptism has any thing to do with this Jewish proselyte baptism, it is proper to remark that in the Jewish ritual a complete immersion was *essential* to the act (comp. Rom. vi. 4); it was made preferable in *running* waters (comp. "The Teaching of the Apostles," c. vii.); and that it was mainly in virtue of the spiritual kinship subsisting between them (Ex. xx. 5), that parents could bring their children to be baptized with them, so that the baptism of a heathen woman big with child sufficed for herself and her offspring (Jevam., fol. 45, 2). But Maimonides, Avadim, gathers from the Talmud that any Israelite may take a Gentile infant and baptize him; but it seems likely that the act implied a prior adoption of the child. To this spiritual kinship Cyprian evidently refers when he speaks of the children of the lapsed, and says that the apostasy of their parents had deprived them of the spiritual advantages that had been conferred on them on entering the world. "It was no fault of ours; we did not of ourselves forsake the sacraments of our Lord, and run over to join with profane impieties; the unfaithfulness of others has undone us, we have found our parents to be murderers; they denied us God for our Father, and the Church for our Mother" (De lapsis, p. 125).

I think I am right in saying that Scotch Presbyterians only baptize the children of *Christian* parents.

Breaking of bread—The breaking of bread in Jewish households, is quite a solemn and complicated ceremony. First an incision is made in the loaf, care being taken not to sever the parts completely; in the case of the eastern flat loaves, they are folded in two. The blessing is then pronounced, "Blessed art thou, O our God, Ruler of the world, who hast brought forth bread from the earth,* ברוך אתה אלהינו מלך העולם המוציא לחם מן הארץ. Then the bread is broken into pieces by the father of the family, and he distributes it to the various members of the household, repeating the words, under favour of my Lords and Rabbis, ברשות מורי ורבותי. There is a separate blessing for each dish. That for the wine is particularly worthy of notice, "Blessed . . . בורא פרי &c. . . who createst the fruit of the vine," הגפן, as our blessed Lord called the wine of the Holy Communion *after its consecration*. This "wine" of the Jews is an essentially intoxicating liquor, and at Purim, every man is on his honour bound to get drunk to the extent of not knowing the difference between "Blessed be Mordecai" and "Cursed be Haman," (see Buxtorf xxix.) But they condemn all gluttony; the Rabbis have a saying, "Let the poor be always in thy house," לעולם יהיו עניים בביתך which they explain, It is not right to extend the belly with a superfluity

* In the Jerusalem Talmud it is said that in the days of the Messiah the expression here used, המוציא לחם. He that bringeth bread out of the earth, will be changed into מוציא הלחם. He that bringeth *the bread* out of the earth. Comp. Ps. lxxii. 16, to which our Lord apparently refers, when he speaks of himself as "the living bread which came down from heaven."

of food, but far better is it to imitate the poor, who are not able to obtain enough food. (Buxt. cxii).

The Sabbath and the Lord's Day. Of the Ebionites Eusebius writes, iii. 27: "They also observe the "Sabbath and other discipline of the Jews, just like "them; but, on the other hand, they also celebrate "the Lord's Day very much like us, in commemoration of his resurrection." The "Lord's Day" at once gained a sure footing as a Christian institution, but by those of Jewish descent, the Saturday was for some time kept along with it. However, against the extension or encouragement of the practice emphatic protests were entered. Ignatius exhorts the Magnesians (c. ix., p. 20), not to SABBATIZE, but to keep the Lord's Day; and Tertullian rejects Sabbaths and new moons as foreign to Christianity, but habitates the Pentecost and the Lord's Day as Christian festivals.

The Council of Laodicea, A.D. 363, in its 29th Canon, forbids Christians to leave their work on the Sabbath. But the Apostolical Constitutions, on the other hand, are very express in their enactments for the due observance of the Sabbath or Saturday; and have paid the penalty on this, as on some other accounts, of being ascribed to the fifth century. (Socr. H. E., bk. v. c. 22; Sozom, bk. vii., c. 19).

The Eucharist. As in the initiatory rite circumcision was abandoned, and baptism retained; so in the Paschal rite the lamb was omitted, and the existing elements of bread and wine were made the memorial of better things than the Redemption from Egypt (Jer. xxxi. 31, 32); "I will make a new covenant

"..... *not according* to the covenant what I made
 "with their fathers in the day that I took them by
 "the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt."

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.—The Talmudists permit it, but not the Cairites, who, like Maimonides, pronounce it to be expressly forbidden by Holy Scripture.

Elevation of the Torah.—Both in the ritual of the Ashkenazim (German) and Sephardim (Spanish) Jews, an elevation of the Torah, or Roll of the Law, occurs, but at different points of the service; and the whole congregation then bow down with reverential awe, and repeat a special form of praise to God. I have been at some pains to trace the antiquity of the usage, in order to ascertain whether it had anything to do with the elevation of the Host in the Roman Church. The first clear intimation of the practice occurs in the Massechet Sopherim, xiv. 14, a compilation of the seventh or eighth centuries; but long before that, the Jerusalem Talmud (Sotah, vii. 4) had directed the Chasan, or chief officer of the Synagogue, to "set up" *הקים*, the Roll of the Law, deriving the rubric directly from the Bible, where, however, *הקים* *התורה*, means to keep the Law, and is clearly not a manual direction. Nachmanides, however, *in loco*, connects the rubric of the Jerusalem Talmud with the Ritual of the Massechet Sopherim, thus tracing it as far back as the fourth century. Whether rightly or wrongly, or whether the practice is older still, we cannot tell.

CHAPTER III. A.D. 70—200.

Two distinct types of Jewish Christianity are to be distinguished in the Ecclesiastical History of the second century—Essene Ebionism and Ebionism Proper. We shall consider the two separately.

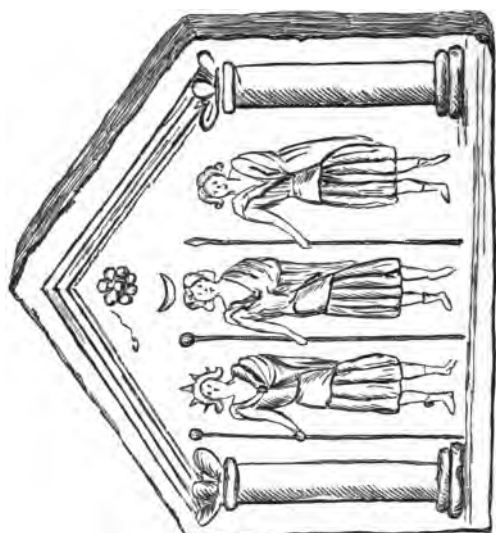
ESSENE EBIONISM.

The Jewish Christians who escaped from Jerusalem before its destruction by the Romans found a refuge at Pella, on the eastern side of the river Jordan. Their acceptance of this haven of rest bespeaks most forcibly their determination to break once for all with their Jewish countrymen. For Pella was a Gentile city, destroyed by Alexander Jannæus, "because the inhabitants could not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews" (Jos. Antiq., bk. xiii. 15, 4), and again "laid waste" by the Jews after the massacre of their countrymen at Cæsarea (*ib.* ii. 18, 1); and it lay within sight of Scythopolis, where 13,000 Jews had recently been murdered in cold blood (Wars, ii. 18, 3). The abundant water supply may also have been an inducement to them to settle there. (Plin. H.N. 5, 16. "Pellam aquis ditem.") A noble fountain is found among the ruins of Tell Faval, the supposed site of Pella.

Here, probably, they first came in contact with the Essenes, who, from their settlements on the western shore

of the Dead Sea (Pliny the Elder †79; Nat. Hist., bk. v. c. xvii.) had, on the approach of the Roman army, dispersed through Nabathea, Iturea, Moabitis and Arcilitis (Epiph. Hær., xix.) The fulfilment of Christ's predictions against the Temple, the emancipation of the Jewish Christians from the thralldom of Rabbinism, and their trust in an overruling Providence, would be attractive to the Essenes, and tend naturally to draw converts from their ranks. But, as they did not abandon their peculiar rites, nor, apparently, their secret theosophy, retaining an aversion to animal food, and holding the entire sacrificial worship as a corruption of Primitive Judaism, they soon fulfilled in the Christian Church the saying of the Rabbis, "Proselytes act as a malignant disease on Israel," קשים גרים לִישְׂרָאֵל כַּסְפָּחָה:

Till the cruel martyrdom of Simon at the age of 120, A.D. 107, the Church at Pella maintained the character of a pure and uncorrupt virgin, *παρθένος καθὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος*. "If there were any at all that attempted to pervert the sound doctrine of the saving Gospel, they were yet skulking in dark retreats; but when the Sacred Choir of Apostles became extinct, and the generation of those that had been privileged to hear their inspired wisdom had passed away, then also the combinations of impious error arose by the fraud and delusion of false teachers" (Heg. ap. Eus., iii. 32). This agrees roughly with the professed date of the Book of Elxai, and the appearance of Elxai himself in the reign of Trajan among the Essenes, who lived east of the Dead Sea (Epiph. Hær., xix. 1). The Essene Christian sect which he formed were known in the time of



Epiphanius by the name of *Σαμψαῖοι*, which he derives from *שֶׁמֶשׁ*, the Sun, and represent as the equivalent of *ἡλιακοί*, Sun-worshippers. Compare what Josephus (Wars, ii. 8, 5), says of the Essenes, "And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but offer up certain prayers to him, *εἰς αὐτόν*, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for his risings" and what Philo says of the Therapeutæ, (*Vita Contempl.*, ii. 11, p. 485), "They stand with their faces and their whole body towards the East, and when they see that the sun is risen, holding out their hands to heaven, they pray for a happy day, and for truth and keen vision of reason." *

With the Essenes, Elxai rejected the sacrifices (Epiph. xix. 3), though he retained the rite of Circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and other Mosaic customs (Hyp. Haer. ix. 14; Epiph. xix. 5). A mutilated Law required a mutilated Canon, *ἀθετεῖ τινα ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς* (Epiph. xviii. 1); and among other things he rejected the entire Epistles of St. Paul.

His Christology partook of a Brahminical belief in a repeated Incarnation, "*τὸν χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον κοινῶς πᾶσι γεγονέναι. Τοῦτον δὲ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐκ παρθένου γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις γεννη-*

* The accompanying engraving of a tablet brought by the author from Palmyra, an inch to the half inch, has the inscription, "Malkou, the Son of Wahhallath." If this Wahhallath is Zenobia's son, the date of the tablet is A.D. 200. And the figures on it seem to me interesting in this connection, though I must leave it to some profounder mythologist to decipher them.

θεῖντα καὶ γεννώμενον." (Pseudo-Orig. *Philosophumena*, 293, 25).

Magic and astrology were among the arts cultivated by the Elceasites, with invocations to "the Holy Spirit" and the angels of prayer" (comp. Col. ii. 8, and Josh. Wars, ii. 8, 7).

The name Elxai, Ἠλξαι signifies, according to Epiphanius, "hidden power," δύναμις κεκαλυμμένη, from לְהַלֵּךְ (Haer. xix. 2), and it was particularly enjoined that the doctrine of the Elceasites should be communicated to the faithful only (Hipp. ix. 15, 7). As this was also the case with the Essenes, "no, not though any one should compel them so to do at the hazard of their life" (Jos. Wars. ii. 8, 7), it is impossible to identify more closely the secret theosophy of the two systems.

PHARISAIC EBIONISM, OR EBIONISM PROPER.

Justin Martyr, after distinguishing between two classes of Judaizers, viz., those who felt only bound to keep the Law themselves, and those who wished to see the Law imposed upon all Christians, makes mention (c. 48), of *some* Jewish converts who held our Lord to be only a man. In the time of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus, these had increased to such an extent as completely to overshadow the remainder. But a remnant was found which adhered to the "Faith once delivered to the saints." For Hegesippus, a Jewish-Christian from Palestine, travelled to Corinth and Rome between the years A.D. 157—161, and found nothing to disap-

prove in the doctrine taught by the Church in these places, ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διδαχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ Κύριος (Eus. iv. 22). If we take the first Epistle of Clement as a sample of the doctrine which he approved, we shall see that a unanimity of sentiment existed between them on the crucial dogma of our Lord's divinity. So Origen, c. Celsum v. 61, knew a class of Jewish Christians, who held with the Catholics that Jesus was born of a virgin; while Jerome and Epiphanius distinguish them from the common type of Ebionites, by calling them Nazarenes, and admitting that they accepted the Pauline Epistles. Whoever the author of the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" may be, he closely reflects this doctrinal standpoint of the Nazarenes, "And I saw that a VIRGIN "was born of Judah and from her proceeded "a spotless Lamb Then shall Sem be glorified when the Lord, the great God of Israel, shall "appear upon earth as a man And now "I know that you will despise the words of "the prophets; and you will declare that man "a deceiver who shall renew the Law in the power "of the Most High, ἀνδρὰ καινοποιούντα τὸν νόμον ἐν "δυνάμει ὑψίστου; and in the end, as you suppose, "you will kill him, not knowing his resurrection, and "by malice will bring innocent blood on your hands. "And for his sake your holy place will become desolate But our father Israel is pure from the "impiety of the high priests Do you therefore also charge your sons that they be united to

“Levi and to Judah; for through Judah shall salvation arise to Israel, and in him shall Jacob be blessed. For by his tribe shall God appear inhabiting among men upon the earth, to save the stock of Israel; and he will gather the righteous of the Gentiles Moreover,” says Benjamin (sect. xi.), “I shall be no longer called a ravening wolf,” said of Paul (comp. Tert. cont. Marc., v. 1).

THE JEWS AT JAMNIA.

The following extracts from the Talmud are quoted by Jost, but are new, I think, to the English reader:—
 “Gamaliel and his sister Salomé put their heads together to entrap a certain philosopher or teacher of the Christian religion, who had the reputation of being incorruptible. The wife of Eliezer came to him first of all, bringing as her present a candlestick. She asked him, Should my brother not share with me his patrimony? He said to her, It is meet that he should do so. But she asked him further, How can that be, when the Law directs, that, when there are sons in a family, the daughters inherit nothing? But he said to her, With the loss of your land, the Law of Moses has been abrogated, and the Gospel has taken its place; and it is written in the Gospel, that a son and daughter shall inherit equally. Some days afterwards she came to him again with her brother Gamaliel, who brought as his present a Lybian donkey. The teacher then pointed out that it was written in the Gospels, I am not come to take ought away from the Law,

“but to add to the Law; אמא לא למפחת על
 “אורייתא דמשה אתירי אלא לאסופי על אורייתא and
 “אורייתא דמשה אתירי ונ' in the Law it was clearly enjoined
 “that, whenever a son is born a daughter can inherit
 “nothing. She said to him, Prythee, why don't you
 “light your candlestick? (as a hint to him to remember
 “her present of a candlestick). But Gamaliel said
 “to her, My sister, the donkey has, I am afraid,
 “knocked the candlestick over” (Shabb. 116, a, b).

At the time that the rules for keeping the Sabbath were under consideration, it was asked in the schools, whether, if the Gospels and other books of the Minim should happen to fall into the fire, it would be permissible to rescue them from the fire, inasmuch as the name of God was written in them, and they contained numerous quotations from the Old Testament. “Whereupon the learned men
 “of the school of Gamaliel made it publicly known
 “that while Rabbi Jose had said that the names of
 “God should by all means be rescued, and the
 “remainder then thrown back into the flames, Rabbi
 “Terapon had sworn by the life of his children that
 “he would cast them in together with the names of
 “God which they contained. Were he pursued by a
 “serpent, he would rather take refuge in a temple
 “of idols than in the house of the Minim, for the
 “Minim were wilful traitors, while the others
 “sinned in ignorance of the right way. To which
 “Rabbi Ishmael had added, The question is not one
 “which should give us any trouble to answer. If,
 “in order to make peace between two men, the Law

“permitted the complete effacement of a passage of
“Holy Scripture in which the name of God has been
“most solemnly invoked (Numb. v. 23), why should
“we deal gingerly with the writings of this people,
“who are sowing hatred, hostility, and discord between
“Israel and his Heavenly Father? Not from flames,
“not from the sudden falling of a building, not from
“rushing waters, or ought else that may accomplish
“their ruin, may they be rescued.”

“The severe Eliezer regarded it a matter of self-reproach, that he should have engaged in an argument with a Christian. Summoned for so doing before the Roman magistrates, who were issuing at the time severe restrictions against the Jewish Christians (Av. Sara 17), one of them who knew him said to him, Should a learned man like you trouble himself with such things of nought? He answered, My trust is in the justice of the judge, *i.e.*, of God. Since thou art so ready, said the magistrate, to submit thyself to the judge, *i.e.*, myself, thou art free. But the whole affair made so deep an impression on his mind, that his disciples soon noticed his sorrowful mien. Akiba took up the word, May I bring something forward which I have learnt from thee, O master? Say on. Hast thou not had a dispute with a Christian, and by approving what he said, got thyself into trouble? Eliezer answered him, Alas! too well do I remember the circumstances. I was going to the Upper Market at Sephoris, when Jacob, a man from Caphar Sechnia, a disciple of Jesus, came to me and said, It is

“written in your Law, Thou shalt not bring the wages of whoredom into the Temple; but surely such offerings may well be spent on the cloacae of the Temple? Thinking he was trying to throw me off my guard, I gave him no answer; but he shewed me Micah i. 7;* and in my approval of his interpretation, I fell into the transgression of which the Scripture speaketh (Prov. v. 8), Remove thy way far from her—*i.e.*, the doctrine of the Christians, and come not nigh the door of her house.”

The Jews were forbidden to avail themselves of the powers of healing which the Jewish Christians possessed. A nephew of Rabbi Ismael, called Eliezer Ben Dausa, was bitten by a serpent. James, of whom we have already spoken, was healing him by simply repeating the name of Jesus. But Rabbi Ismael would not suffer him to proceed, although the sick man begged him not to interfere, and offered to prove to him out of the Holy Scriptures that it was lawful to be healed by Christians. But he cried out when the sick man expired, Happy art thou, for pure hast thou been, and in purity hast breathed forth thy soul, doing nought that is unlawful to be done, nor transgressing the doctrine of thy brethren in the faith.”

It was at a somewhat later period that the rule was passed, that “all animals slaughtered by Christians

* “For she gathered it of the hire of an harlot, and they shall return to the hire of an harlot.” What began in uncleanness, had its fittest ending in uncleanness.

“are as meat offered to idols, and should under no circumstances be eaten by Jews. His bread is only fit for Samaritans, his wine is a libation to idols, his sacred Scriptures are books of witchcraft, his fruits cannot be received as tithes, and, in the opinion of many, even his children are bastards.”

“Rabbi Joshua, on seeing to his grief that his nephew, who afterwards became the renowned Rabbi Chananiah, had been so wrought upon by a Min in Capernaum, the account says through enchantments, that he had ridden a donkey on the Sabbath, brought him back to a sense of his duty, the account says through a countercharm, and sent him to Babylon.”

“When a certain woman from the Minim, came to Rabbi Eliezer and asked him to receive her into the Jewish community, he, fearing that she had on her conscience the commission of some great crime, asked her what life she had led. She said, I have a son from my eldest son. And he cast her forth on hearing this. But Rabbi Joshua received her, and when one of his scholars seemed surprised, he told him that after she had resolved to enter the Covenant she was born again.”

“It is related of Rabbi Jonathan, that he once went forth to seek a pupil of his who had got entangled in the company of the Minim. Thus he found himself in a meeting of these Minim, where liberties were being taken with a girl, and he was invited to join in the sport. But crying out with indignation, Do even Jews engage in such wickedness? he instantaneously ran away from them, and shut himself in

"his house. Whereupon they cried to him, Say to thy mother, that thou art escaped because thou wouldst not tarry an instant with us; otherwise, not only thou, but many of thy disciples had fallen into our hands."

BAR COCHBA.

Bar Cochba, who headed the second great Jewish rebellion, is rather a mysterious personage. The Jewish tradition makes him the third of a dynasty (Zemach David, ad ann. 880, Millenarii 4). Some have suggested (Hadriani Relandi Palestina), that he was a native of Kaukab, كركب, about three hours' ride south of Damascus; others (Sam. Petit. Observatt., lib. iii. 4, p. 318; Reimarius ad Dionem Cassium, p. 1146), identify him with the "Andreu" of Dion Cassius, and the "Lucias" of Eusebius, both leaders of Jewish rebellions. So much seems certain, that it was through the influence of Rabbi Akiba that he became the recognised commander-in-chief of the Jewish army, and it was probably on a return from a successful expedition against the Romans that he was saluted by Akiba with the title of Messiah, it being a Jewish tradition (Just. c. Tryph. viii.), that no one would know the Messiah when he was born, that indeed he would not know himself or have any power until Elias should come to anoint him, and make him manifest to all.

Able to bide their time,* when once the restraint

* *הִשָּׁמֵר בְּדַרְכְּךָ*: "Be cautious where you journey," is one of the commonest of Jewish proverbs. Compare Hadrian's letter to his brother-in-law, the Consul Servianus, which Vopiscus has preserved in the beginning of his life of Saturninus, "Even the Patriarch (of

was cast off, the drunken fury of the Jews knew no bounds. In Egypt 220,000, in Cyprus 240,000, fell before their remorseless vengeance. And yet Justin, who was born in Palestine, and a contemporary, or nearly so, of these events, seems to think nothing of these numbers compared with the persecutions which the Christians underwent.* At a crisis when not only Judæa, but the Jews of all the world (Xiphil., p. 263), had taken up arms for a supreme struggle, and when the "star" had at last come out of Jacob to smite "the corners of Moab," the apathy of the Jewish Christians must have appeared to them specially intolerable.

It was this outbreak of persecution which the Jewish Christians now suffered from their countrymen, that opened the eyes of the Romans to the existence of a line of demarcation between them.

"the Jews), when he comes to Alexandria, is compelled to honour the former, i.e., the adorers of Serapis, by worshipping Serapis, and the latter, i.e., the Christians, by worshipping Christ." Also Juvenal's (vi. 5, 42) well-known lines :—

" Cophino fœnoque relicto
 " Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
 " Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
 " Arboris et summi fida internuncia cœli.
 " Implet et illa manum, sed parcius ære minuto,
 " Qualiacumque voles Judæi somnia vendunt."

* Εν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης χριστιανὸς ΜΟΝΟΥΣ εἰς τιμωρίας δεινὰς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι. (Apol. i. 31, p. 72, e., quoted Eus. H. E. iv. 8; comp. Orosius vii. 12.)

For the decree of Vespasian, A.D. 70, that careful search should be made for all who were of the family of David, "that no one might be left among the "Jews who were of the royal stock" (Eus. H. E. iii. 12); re-enacted under Domitian, A.D. 79 (Heg. ap. Eus. iii. 20), was aimed against the Christians as well as the Jews. And we find that Acilius Glabicon, a man of equestrian dignity, was accused of atheism, and put to death for turning to the Jewish, *i.e.*, the Christian religion. And though Pliny's letter to Trajan, A.D. 111, evinces a growing intelligence of the differences between Christians and Jews, yet the martyrdom of Simon, A.D. 107, and Ignatius, A.D. 117, are best accounted for by being taken in connexion with the disturbances of the Jews. Similarly the confiscation of the Jerusalem Temple Capitation Fee for the benefit of Jupiter Capitolinus (Jos. Wars, vii. 6. 6), apparently extended to the Jewish Christians. (Suet. in Dom., c. 12, *qui improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam.*)

The immediate occasion of the outbreak is variously given. Spartianus, A.D. 300, in Hadriano, c. 14, supported by the Talmud, Jevam., fol. 9, 1, says that it was Hadrian's decree forbidding the Jews to circumcise that first roused them to open rebellion; but, according to Dion., lib. lxi. 12, p. 1161, it was a movement which Hadrian contemplated of planting a Roman colony on the site of the sacred city that was the last straw which broke the camel's back. Similarly the scene of the last fierce struggle is variously recorded, unless, indeed, we are prepared to identify the Bether of the Rabbis with Jerusalem. For, according to the

Rabbis, Bether was the metropolis of Bar Cochba, and the second destruction of Jerusalem is, as far as the Hebrew element is concerned, a case of pure numismatic evidence. But it is affirmed by Appian *De Bellis Syriæ*, ed Toll., p. 191; by the Samaritan Book of Joshua, whose proper text closes with Hadrian, *Fab. Cod Pseudepigr.* V. T., p. 887; by Eusebius, *Demonst. Evang.* vi. 18; Chrysostom *Oratione* iii. in Judæos; Jerome, *Comment. in Habac.* ii.; *Comment. in Ezek.* v. 1; The Alexandrine Chronicle; Abulpharagius; Paulus Diaconus; Syncellus; Cedrenus; Nicephorus Callistus; Suidas. And Eusebius calls the Bishops of the Circumcision, "Bishops of Jerusalem," *Eus. H. E.* iv. 5, though he does not record their permanent return to Jerusalem.

But doubtful as are some of the details of this rebellion, the final issue of the struggle is not left in any doubt, for the Jews have themselves erected an everlasting monument to their defeat by changing the name of their leader from Bar Cochba, or Son of a Star, into Bar Cozibah, or Son of a Lie.

On the ruins of Jerusalem the Romans planted the colony of Aelia Capitolina, and banished from its borders all Jews on pain of death; but the Christians, whose separation from the Jews the late war had laid beyond doubt, with the last link severed which had bound them to the religion of their fathers, were permitted to return, and Marcus was consecrated the first Gentile Bishop of Jerusalem. With this event we lose sight of the Jewish Christians considered as a distinct body in the Catholic Church, but the hatred of the Jews crops up again at

Polycarp's martyrdom (Eus. iv. 15), and Jerome bears testimony to the fact, that in his day the Jews daily anathematized the Christians in their Synagogues, under the name of Nazarenes; while Epiphanius tells us that the Jews "were specially displeased with the Nazarenes, "because, *though they were Jews*, they believed in Jesus "as the Christ."

RECAPITULATION.

My main object in this Essay has been to show that the Primitive Jewish Christian Church was not Ebionite. If, as we have seen, the theological systems of both ran parallel to each other, nothing but the earnest faith of the Primitive Christians in the Proper Godhead of our Saviour can account for the asperity of Jewish persecution on the one hand, or the vigour of Christian forbearance on the other. Had the Christians been of the world, and confined their faith to dogmas of the human reason, "the world would love its own." As it was "die neue Lehre musste sich mitten durch die "bestehenden Hemmnisse Bahn brechen." (Jost, G. des Jud. ii. p. 38.)*

Some critics may be inclined to demur at the use I have made in this Essay of the Jewish authorities. I fully admit that I have traced every point of contact between ancient Judaism and Primitive Christianity to

* "Que nunca falte hum perfido inimigo

"A quelles, dequem foste tanto amigo!"

Camoens. Lusiad. l. 71.

Alas, that traitor foes should multiply

When thou, O God, their friend so dear, wast nigh !

Judaism in the first instance rather than to Christianity. It is at once the most natural hypothesis, and, in fact, the hatred of the Jews precludes any other. And, again, I have, as a rule, attributed to the Jewish traditions an antiquity and an authority beyond the time when they were first committed to writing. "Pro
" *aetate rerum in Talmude comprehensarum, non ad*
" *tempus attendendum est, quo vel Mishna, in ea qua*
" *in hodiernum prostat forma, condita putatur, vel ejus*
" *Gemara; sed ad aetatem istorum quorum quidquid*
" *adducitur nomine—vel sola auctorum concatenata et*
" *taediosa quandoque repetitio, quorum unus ex ore*
" *cognoverit alterius; Et sollicita illa in primum doctrinae*
" *auctorem inquisitio, passim in Gemara obvia, abunde*
" *declarat, quod sit mera rerum ab antiquis traditarum*
" *compilatio.*" * These premises are, I believe, sound; and the Christian records of the first and second centuries are not so full and copious as to justify the rejection of any information that we find contained in other sources. "Side Lights" are often of great value in all Science, and not least in the Science of Theology.

* Meuschen.

SOME "ORIGINAL SOURCES" REFERRED TO IN THIS ESSAY,
WITH AN INDEX.

The Talmud תלמוד "Doctrine," is composed of three parts:—

1. The Mishnah, "a second Law," written by Rabbi Judah, 220.
2. The Jerusalem Gemara, "Supplement," wrongly attributed to Rabbi Jochanan, and brought together between the years 300—400, A.D.
 Berachoth ברכות, "Blessings." (47, 77.)
 Terumah תרומה, "Oblations." (35.)
 Jom Tov יום טוב, "The Festival." (35.)
 Megillah מגילה. (22, 81.)
3. The Babylonian Gemara said to have been commenced by Rabbi Aschi 400, and finished 530, A.D.
 Berachoth ברכות, "Blessings."
 (15, 46, 52, 81.)
 Megillah מגילה, "Roll." (82.)
 Shabbath שבת, "The Sabbath."
 (47, 58, 61, 81, 84, 97.)
 Pesachim פסחים, "The Passover." (12, 82.)
 Joma יומה, "The Day of Atonement." (11.)
 Succah סוכה, "Feast of Tabernacles." (16, 37.)
 Rosh Hashana ראש חשנה, "New Year." (76.)
 Jevamoth יבמות. (84, 102.)
 Gittin גיטין. (54.)
 Sotah סוטה. (9, 11, 49, 76, 87.)

Bava Metzia **בבא מציעה**, "Middle Gate." (36.)

Bava Bathra **בבא בתרא**, "Last Gate."

(12, 32, 81.)

Sanhedrin **סנהדרין**.

(7, 9, 13, 48, 49, 54, 59, 61, 62.)

Avoth **אבות**, "The Fathers." (16.)

Arachin **ערכין**. (17.)

Avodah Zarah **עבודה זרה**. (13, 48, 52, 98.)

Chullin **חולין**. (17, 21, 47.)

Tamid **תמיד**. (81.)

Kethuvoth **כתובות**. (14.)

The Midrashim—Commentaries.

Mechilta **מכילתא**, a commentary on Exodus.

(64, 72.)

Siphre—a commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy. (64.)

Both these, including Siphra, a commentary on Leviticus not referred to in my Essay, belong approximately to 250, A.D.

Midrash Rabbith—a commentary on the Pentateuch and the Megilloth, *i.e.*, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes, "of various styles and ages, but none of them later than the beginning of the 5th century." (26, 30, 32, 38, 63, 66).

Midrash Tanchuma—a commentary on the Pentateuch, 5th century. (10, 74.)

Midrash Tillim—a commentary on the Psalms, according to Dr. S. S. as early as 2nd century. (25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 47.)

Midrash Pesikta Rabbathi, 3rd-4th centuries (38.)

Sutarta, had Rabbi Tobia Ben Eliezer for its author, A.D. 1100.

Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, 5th century. (34.)

Midrash Mishleé, on the Proverbs, 5th century. (32, 33.)

Septuagint, from 250, B.C.

Targums—

Onkelos, on the Pentateuch, 50—1, B.C. (29.)

Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on the Prophets, 30, B.C.

(4, 29, 30, 32, 34, 67, 73.)

Jerusalem, on the Pentateuch, 450, A.D. (26, 28,

29, 55, 58.)

The following Targums are of later date.

Ruth. (64.)

Job.

Esther.

Psalms. (31, 33.)

The Song of Solomon.

Ecclesiastes.

Proverbs.

Chronicles. (27.)

The Zohar is in the highest repute among the Jews. (27, 31, 38, 57, 65, 66, 69, 72.)

It was first brought to light in Spain in the 13th century, but claims for its author Shimeon Ben Jochai, a Jewish luminary of the 1st and 2nd century.

Book of Enoch, 1—50, A.D.

Josephus, Trans. by Whiston, from whom I diverge in one instance. (93.)

„ Jewish Wars, bk. vii., A.D. 75, when 38 years old.

„ Jewish Antiq., A.D. 93.

Eusebius, † 340.

Philo was 70 A.D. 41, and wrote his book on the
Therapeutic when young.

Maimonides, 1139—1206, his tomb is in Tiberias
Hilkoth Tephillah. (51.)

„ Accum. (13.)

„ Melachim. (14.)

„ Avadim. (84.)

R. Menachem di Recanati, † 1290. (30, 55).

D. Kimchi, 1140—1232. (4, 31.)

Eben Ezra, 1119—1200. (56.)

R. Moses Gerundensis, also called Nachmanides,
1260. (55, 88.)

Jochasin, 1500, by Zakut. (46.)

Zemach David, 1592; the tomb of the author is in
Prague, (46, 101.)

Jalkut Schimoni, 1100. (37, 38, 66, 76.)

Benjamin Tudela, 1150. (63.)

Alphes, 1000—1100. (52.)

Massechet Sopherim. (88.)

En Jacob. (32.) Book of Enoch. (75.)

Aruch. (12.) Rashi. (17, 80.)

PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED.

Lardner—Complete works, 1838.

Lightfoot, Dr. J.—Pitman Edition, 1822.

Lightfoot, Bishop—St. Paul and the three Galatians.

„ The Essenes, Colossians.

„ The Christian Ministry, Philippians.

- Schoettgen—*Horae Heb.*, vol. ii., Leipzig, 1742.
- Meuschen—Leipzig, 1736.
- Gfrörer—*Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, Stuttgart, 1838.
- Lundius—*Die alten Jüdischen Heiligthümer*, Hamburg, 1704.
- Oxlee—"The Christian Doctrines on the Principles of
"Judaism," London, 1815.
- Coleman—"The Primitive Church," Boston, 1844.
- Milman—"History of the Jews," vol. ii., Murray, 1866.
- Basnage—"History of the Jews," tr., Taylor, London, 1708.
- Ewald—*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1869.
- Neander—*History*, tr. by Torrey, Boston, 1859.
- „ *Planting*, tr. by Ryland, New York, 1867.
- Gieshler—*Compendium of Church History*.
- Ginsburg—Essenes, Longman, 1864.
- Buxtorf—*Lexicon, and De Synagogue*.
- McCaul, Dr.—"Old Paths," and Tract on 53rd Isaiah.
- Otho—*Rabbinical Lexicon*.
- L. Levi—*New Rabbinical Lexicon*.
- Biesenthal, Dr.—*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche.*,
Berlin, 1853.
- Jost, Dr. J. M.—*Geschichte des Judenthums*, vol. ii.,
Leipzig, 1854.
- Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1822.
- Stäudlin—*Sittenlehre*, Göttingen, 1799.
- Allix—*Judgment of the Jewish Church against the
Unitarians*, Oxford, 1821.
- Wolf—*Bibliotheca Hebraica*, vol. ii.; Reland's *Pa-
lestina*.
- Maji, T. H. *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae*, 1698.

MEMORANDUM OF SOME ERRORS FOUND IN THESE WORKS.

1. Torrey's Neander, vol i., p. 291, the date of the destruction of the Church of Edessa should be 202, not 302. (79).

2. Oxlee, vol. ii., p. 162, ed. 1820, has been misled by a ♪. (37.)

3. In "Old Paths," i., p. 43, the question from the Hilcoth Melachim of Maimonides, should be c. viii., 10, not c. viii., 4. (14.)

4. An oversight of Ewald's. (47.)

5. Allix's authorities should in all cases be verified before adoption. I have in several instances found them disappointing.

6. A mistake of Grotius about "Paradise." (75.)

7. Printing error in Jost ii., 39; it should be Shabb. 116, a. b. (97.)

DOUBT AND HOPE;

A DIALOGUE.

THIS SHORT POEM,

WRITTEN ON MY 27TH BIRTHDAY,

IS DEDICATED

TO

MY DEAR MOTHER.



A DIALOGUE

'TWIXT

BROTHER DOUBT AND BROTHER HOPE.

D.—Fain would we pierce the mists that round us roll
Mysterious, the play of life and death,
The tale oft-told of joy and misery,
Pleasure and pain, as rose 'mid thorns entwined ;
Yet can we not, but must the burden bear
Of driftless toil till night set in.

H.—Peace, brother, and, though dark the road we journey,
Await the end. 'Twill come, the glorious day
Foretold of old, when God's sure love shall stand
Steadfast as stands His Word, to make all clear
And fill thy fond despairing heart with joy.
'Twill come ! 'twill come ! let faith the meanwhile
guide thee ;
Let Hope e'en cheer thee onwards, Charity
Shed alway on thy lips her sweet perfumes :
So shalt thou live God's child, so shalt thou die
As died thy Saviour Christ, obedient, pure.

D.—Faith, Hope, and Charity ! these spectral forms
Should haunt enchanted ground and not this earth :
Where Faith doth bud to be traduced anon ;
And Hope doth burn to make the heart more sick ;
And Charity, in covering many sins,
Maketh the bloated sinner yet more rank.

H.—His ways are best, who made us what we are ;
And, if we murmur, we do Him grievous wrong :
Since base ingratitude the baser grows
The more the kindness that doth nurse it flows.

D.—His ways are best, who made us what we are !
Then, if we murmur, he hath made us so ;
The frantic soul surcharged with doubt would burst
Not murmuring : of this last solace left,
Brother, bereave not poor humanity.

H.—'Tis all of earth to murmur ; not the stars
That shine so bright o'erhead inspire thy plaint.
Lift up thine eyes and let thy spirit drink
Into the space that infinitely bounds
The utmost vision of thy feeble eye ;
A solemn calm falls o'er thee, and a dream
Mesmeric soothes the tremor of thy frame.
For ill is finite, and the Peace of God
Is infinite. How can the finite mar
What is so infinite ? How can a speck
O'ercast so broad and blue a firmament ?

D.—I grant thee, brother, that all ill is finite ;

But from its ashes springs a progeny
Of evils none can number, and will God
The very seeds of death exterminate,
Or will the good with ill commingled be
Throughout the æons of eternity ?

H.—Tempt not the future, but the present use
To glorify thy God ; and Him adore
Whom angels worship with their faces veiled.
If evil be not infinite, 'tis nothing :
Omnipotence can grasp the slackened reins,
And bend at will the temper of the beast.

D.—Is evil nothing if not infinite ?
Is death not death, because a man has lived ?
And woe not woe, though joy precede and follow ?

H.—We measure ill by worse, and good by better ;
This standard of our wrongs will not suffice
T' impeach the Almighty and His love discredit ;
The same to-day and yesterday and ever.

D.—The same ! Then why uplift the heart in prayer
To one who varies not, but carries out
With fierce resolve, the fixed intent He bears ?

H.—That fixed intent is love, my brother, love,
Not hate, nor bitterness of warped desire ;
But love that melts and love that ever burns,
The father's love that for his children yearns.

D.—A love too feeble this to stem the tide
Of rampant misery, what boots it, brother ?

H.—Love is not feeble, nor is sympathy
An empty name, a name of virtue shorn.
But love must travail e'er it reach the goal,
And God must labour to fulfil his work,
A mother's labour to bring forth her child.
Not till the Saviour wept, had He the strength
To rend the tomb of festering Lazarus.
Then murmur not, my brother ; hand in hand
The darksome path we'll travel, till we reach
The better land ; and by our side there strides
A sure companion, friend, and councillor,
Who with our many tears is blending His ;
With us God weeps, and in His Spirit groans ;
Oh happy pledge of many smiling morns !

